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Lebedev Briefs Press on Troop Reductions

LD2212125188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1209 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, 22 Dec (TASS)—The unilateral reduction of 500,000 men in the Armed Forces, announced by the Soviet Union, as well as the withdrawal of tank units and offensive weapons from the countries of Eastern Europe represent the start of a practical implementation of restructuring in the USSR Armed Forces on the basis of a defensive military doctrine, Major General Yuriy Lebedev, representative of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, said here today.

Addressing a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists, he stressed that the Soviet Union will withdraw from the GDR, the CSSR, and the Hungarian People's Republic entire military units and all their materiel. He rejected claims by certain Western press organs that, allegedly, in reducing its troops which are now in these countries, the Soviet Union intends to withdraw from them only auxiliary subunits, such as railroad or agricultural subunits. The six tank divisions subject to withdrawal will be disbanded, and their military materiel, including the most up-to-date tanks, will be scrapped, except their engines, which are planned to be used in the national economy, he said.

As regards auxiliary materiel—tractors, fuel servicing trucks—they will also not be destroyed, but will find a use in various sectors of the economy. Altogether on the territories of the countries of Eastern Europe and in the European part of the USSR, the Soviet Armed Forces will be reduced by 10,000 tanks.

General Lebedev reported that the USSR Defense Ministry is now drawing up a timetable for transferring servicemen to the reserve connection with the announced reductions. The task is to provide them with work and accommodation. The main problem is in providing housing for those officers transferred to the reserve, as the elimination of the aftermath of the earthquake in Armenia will require considerable efforts and material resources in the near future to restore the destroyed towns and villages.

Having made the decision to reduce its armed forces unilaterally, Yuriy Lebedev said, the USSR is counting on positive steps in response from the NATO countries in order to make the structure of their Armed Forces truly defensive in character. He expressed the hope that the new Soviet peace initiative would help to create favorable conditions for the start of talks on armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe, and also for the talks on strategic nuclear weapons, and on banning chemical weapons and nuclear tests.

Lebedev Cited on Weapons, Forces Reductions

LD2212153488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1045 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Feature: "New Soviet Initiatives in the Area of Conventional Weapons—Opinions and Assessments" presented by journalist Aleksandr Korshunov]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Korshunov] On 7 December there was an unprecedented breakthrough, in the dominant opinion, in disarmament philosophy itself. Negotiations on conventional weapons received a powerful stimulus. Today I would like you to hear how it is assessed by representatives of various social systems. My first interviewee was Major General Lebedev, deputy chief of the Directorate of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

There is no question that the latest Soviet initiatives are on such a large-scale that it is already very difficult to reject them out of hand or use the old diplomatic formula that they still need analyzing. But nevertheless certain political circles and mass media of Western cointries are making attempts to draw from them some political benefits for themselves. Namely, allegations are circulating that there exists in the Soviet Union some sort of political opposition group of the military leadership and that allegedly our military circles are dissatisfied and did not want these cuts. What can you say about such assertions?

[Lebedev] I must say that all questions connected with the weapons cut are worked on by the leadership of our country in close association with representatives of the Ministry of Defense. For this reason there is no basis for saying that there is some sort of opposition within the Ministry of Defense to the decision of our government. Perhaps it is only those who do not want there to be progress in reducing armed forces and weapons—and there are such forces in the West—who are dreaming up these arguments. [passage omitted]

[Korshunov] Another question is interesting to many people today. What will happen to the units being cut? Will they be destroyed or put into storage?

[Lebedev] There is no question that some parts will be scrapped, but many types of armaments can be made useful in the national economy, in particular tractors, various sorts of fuelling equipment, and many means of transportation. They will be successfully utilized in our national economy. Moreover, this will be visibly demonstrated to observers from other states, so that the public is aware of it. I think the public will also demand that Western states for their part take some similar steps. [passage omitted]

[Korshunov] Unfortunately, we are clearly missing another participant, or more correctly, the views of people representing the country to which the Soviet initiatives were in fact addressed. The point is, that when

this program was first initiated, I requested the American Embassy in Moscow to express their attitude to our new proposals. We also wanted to ask about a lot of things; for example, what the Americans might say about the possibility of steps in response, and how they view the problem of equalizing the imbalance in those types of conventional weapons in which the United States and NATO have a clear advantage, such as in naval weapons, on-deck and strike aircraft, and antitank weapons. But, alas, there was no conversation. It only remains to be hoped that it may take place in the future.

TRUD Interviews Chervov on Troop Reductions

PM2212130488 Moscow TRUD in Russian 22 Dec 88 p 5

[Interview with Colonel General N.F. Chervov, chief of a directorate at the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, by military observer Colonel V. Morozov: "Disarmament in Practice"—date, place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The new Soviet initiatives on reducing the USSR Armed Forces are still being widely commented on throughout the world. Our military observer Colonel V. Morozov met with Colonel General N.F. Chervov, chief of a directorate at the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, and asked him to answer a number of questions in this connection.

[Morozov] First of all, Nikolay Fedorovich, remind our newspaper's readers of the essence of the decisions made by the Soviet Union.

[Chervov] On 7 December, speaking at the United Nations, M.S. Gorbachev announced that the Soviet Union had adopted a decision on reducing its Armed Forces. Specifically, this is what it means: In the next 2 years the numerical strength of the Soviet Armed Forces will be reduced by 500,000 men. A reduction of half a million men is very substantial.

By 1991 six tank divisions will be withdrawn from the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary and disbanded, as well as assault landing units and a number of other formations and units, including assault river-crossing units with their armaments and combat hardware; the troops located in those countries will be reduced by 50,000 men, 5,000 tanks, and a considerable quantity of other arms and combat hardware. The divisions remaining there for the present will be reformed—they will have a different structure from today, a structure that, after the large-scale removal of tanks, will become purely defensive.

Also subject to reduction are the personnel and arms stationed in the European part of the country. In all, in this part of the USSR and on the territory of our European allies, the Soviet Armed Forces will be reduced by 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems, and 800 combat aircraft. By way of comparison, let me remind you that a reduction in the numerical strength of Soviet troops by half a million men is equivalent to the numerical strength of the entire FRG Bundeswehr, while a reduction in the tank pool by 10,000 combat machines is numerically equivalent to the tanks of 30 U.S. Army tank divisions.

In these 2 years troops in the Asian part of the country will also be substantially reduced, and a significant proportion of the Soviet troops temporarily stationed in Mongolia will return from there.

Apart from this, in raising the question of the transition from the economy of armaments to the economy of disarmament, the Soviet Union plans to convert military production to peaceful production. It is prepared, in particular, to draw up plans in the course of 1989 for the conversion of two or three defense enterprises.

[Morozov] Which features of the Soviet Armed Forces reduction, in your opinion, should be stressed above all?

[Chervov] First, the scale of the reduction. I think many people in the West were surprised both by the scope of the reduction and by the fact that the reduction is taking place unilaterally and without any linkage with future talks on conventional arms.

Second, alongside the quantitative scale of the reduction, qualitative changes are taking place in the Soviet Armed Forces, aimed at giving them a nonaggressive structure.

The facts confirm this. The first fact is that modern types of weapons and combat hardware are scheduled for reduction. The second fact is that the six tank divisions being withdrawn from the groups of forces are to be disbanded. Disbanded, not deployed elsewhere. Hence the groundlessness of the claims that have already appeared in the West that the USSR is only redeploying its troops, not reducing them. This kind of propaganda will not do today! The third fact is the reforming of the divisions remaining on our allies' territory for the present (a large quantity of tanks are to be removed from them). They are being given a purely defensive structure. In view of the fact that at the same time assault landing and assault river-crossing formations and units with their armaments and combat hardware are being withdrawn from the groups of forces, the concern of certain circles in West European countries about the nature of the grouping of our forces is entirely removed.

In assessing the defensive nature of Soviet military doctrine, people in the West have sometimes told us that its political aspect is only words. Where is the action, they say? So now, here is some concrete action. The restructuring of the structure of the remaining troops on defensive principles is a practical realization of Soviet military doctrine, building the Soviet Armed Forces on the principles of defense sufficiency and giving their

structure a purely defensive thrust. The political and military-technical aspects of present-day Soviet military doctrine are rigorously coordinated. They both have a united defensive thrust.

[Morozov] What influence, in your view, will this key decision by the Soviet leadership have on the military-political situation in the world?

[Chervov] I do not think it is yet possible to foresee in full its positive influence on the entire international situation. In my view, this bold step by the Soviet Union could serve as a guarantee to ensure a drastic change in the world from the buildup of arms to their reduction on a compromise basis. The USSR and the other Warsaw Pact countries are taking this coordinated step in the interests of strengthening peace and ensuring international security, demonstrating their seriousness and determination to implement the peace program and radically resolve the disarmament problem.

The possibility is opening up of starting new talks on reducing the level of military confrontation in Europe. International relations are clearly going to embark on a fundamentally new stage. I think the world public will also expect from NATO leaders not propagandist studies, but an appropriate response, real steps in reply.

[Morozov] How do you assess the reports that have already come in about the West's reaction to the plan to reduce the USSR Armed Forces?

[Chervov] In general it is positive. For instance. R. Reagan: "I wholeheartedly welcome this decision... This step will go down in history as important and significant." G. Bush: "This is a good decision, a positive step." M. Thatcher: "I warmly welcome the Soviet decision."

U.S. military specialists, including experts from major military-political research centers (the Rand Corporation, the BDM Corporation, and others) immediately admitted that the measures announced by the Soviet Union, especially as regards the reduction of forward-based tank divisions, are direct evidence of the sincerity of the repeated Soviet statements on the transition to a defensive doctrine based on reasonable sufficiency.

At the same time reports are also coming in that certain conservative forces in the West are trying to find negative features in the situation that has emerged since the announcement of the decision on a unilateral reduction in the USSR Armed Forces. Particular concern is caused in certain Western circles by the fact that the USSR, with its decision, has made it considerably more difficult for NATO to justify the need for "arms upgrading" by the West European countries in light of the supposed Soviet superiority. It will now be considerably harder to convince parliaments and the public of the need to make new appropriations of many billions for military purposes. This has particularly annoyed certain American politicians who are trying right now, because of financial difficulties in the United States, to shift part of the burden of military spending onto the European NATO countries. They realize that after the Soviet statement their efforts will meet with more serious opposition than before.

Attempts are also being made to minimize the significance of the Soviet initiative. Statements are being put about to the effect that the USSR has decided on a unilateral reduction of its Armed Forces only as a consequence of NATO's "position of strength": We should simply pocket the USSR's concessions, they say, and continue to pursue the "policy of deterrence."

When you read remarks like that, you cannot help thinking: What narrowness and poverty of thought is once again shown by certain Atlanticists, as they call for the development of military programs and the buildup of the arms race, trying to find "traps" and textual "snares" in the Soviet initiatives. But all the same, much is now changing in our world. And we have the right to hope that NATO's leaders will respond to the sincerity of the USSR's aspirations and practical actions with equal sincerity and practical actions to ensure lasting peace on earth.

'Sensible Defense Sufficiency' Doctrine Viewed

AU2212161088 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 20 Dec 88 pp 1, 4

[Article by Colonel Nikolay Chervov: "The Goal is to Prevent War" —specially supplied for ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME through NOVOSTI]

[Text] The USSR does not have any territorial claims against any country whatsoever and does not consider any other nation or state as its enemy. We are ready to build our relations on the basis of mutual respect for the interests of security and peaceful coexistence.

Representatives of the West sometimes do not sufficiently appreciate the importance of the fundamental impact of these political postulates in the development of the Soviet military doctrine. Since they cannot realize the full extent of the essential changes that have taken place in our military doctrine, they insist on their hackneyed theories that our political commitments are only true in words, but what about deeds? They are implying that the political and military-technical aspects of our doctrine allegedly contradict each other.

This statement has nothing in common with reality. Both the political and the military-technical aspects of the contemporary Soviet military doctrine are strictly coordinated.

The military-technical aspect is subjected to the political aspect. Both have a common, strictly defensive orientation. This is expressed in the main political and strategic goal we are pursuing, namely, the goal of preventing war.

This is a lofty goal; it is the core of our doctrine, the basic function of the Soviet state and of its Armed Forces. Naturally, the activities of the Soviet Union were also aimed at preventing war in the past. Nevertheless, today this task has acquired primary importance and is dealt with on a priority basis. What is the reason for this? The main reason is the fact that, in the nuclear century, war can no longer represent a means of achieving political goals. War can only lead to disaster.

The core of the military-technical aspect of every military doctrine encompasses four main questions: The first is related to the nature of the military threat (who is the enemy?). The second is related to the question of the nature of a given aggression which we should be prepared to counter. The third is connected with the question of what type of armed forces are required in case of aggression. The fourth is related to the methods of training armed forces to counter aggression.

In examining the first question—about the nature of the military threat to the USSR—it is impossible to disregard the statements of U.S. and NATO leaders who consider the USSR and the other member states of the Warsaw Pact to be their opponents. They point out that the Soviet Union is their number-one enemy. We should evidently take this fact into account in connection with our practical activities.

As regards the second question, namely, what kind of aggression we should counter and how we should prepare for it—we should bear in mind that the United States and NATO are preparing for both nuclear and conventional war. Despite public statements on the "defensive" nature of their military doctrine, this doctrine has always envisaged and still envisages the existence of nuclear arms to threaten, to conduct military operations, and to bring victory in a possible nuclear war. The United States openly declares that it may be the first to use nuclear weapons. This is written down in the combat regulations of the U.S. Armed Forces.

We are proposing specific measures for preventing the sudden conflagration of war, for a considerable reduction in the armed forces of the two blocs in Europe, and to deprive them of the opportunities to take aggressive actions, as well as measures for the establishment of a nuclear-free corridor along the line of contact between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. We propose the establishment of zones with a limited concentration of armaments in Europe, and the creation of an European center for alleviating danger and averting surprise attacks.

It is difficult to understand why our proposals on these issues are not accepted. Do they not take everybody's interest into account? Our disarmament proposals do not affect anyone's security; there is nothing propagandistic about them.

In discussing the third question—what type of armed forces are necessary to counter aggression—we base ourselves on the principles of sensible defense sufficiency. As regards conventional arms and armed forces, defense sufficiency means that combat staff should be such as to enable them to counter aggression, but at the same time prevent them from conducting aggressive actions. This means providing the armed forces with a nonaggressive structure.

Guided by the principles of defense sufficiency, we proposed a three-stage program on reducing conventional arms in Europe, to which the NATO side has never specifically responded. Unlike the approach of NATO, the USSR once more demonstrated its readiness to actively stimulate the disarmament process, and to reduce the level of military confrontation in Europe. From the high rostrum of the United Nations, Mikhail Gorbachev announced the unilateral numerical reduction of Soviet troops by 500,000 men within the next 2 years, and a substantial limitation of conventional arms. A total of 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems, and 800 fighter aircraft are expected to be withdrawn from the European part of the USSR's territory and from the territories of its European allies. Thus, the principle of sensible sufficiency will be implemented in practice.

As to the question of the methods of training the Soviet Armed Forces to counter aggression, we should bear in mind the fact that we will never be the first to start a war. Nevertheless, relying on the experience of World War II, in the recent past we planned how to counter aggression by defensive, as well as offensive, actions. Taking the concern of the West into consideration, we now reviewed our strategy. In case of aggression, the Soviet Armed Forces will engage in defense operations at the beginning of a war. In our Army training, priority is given to defense. All countries, including the neutral and nonaligned countries, are aware that, guided by our defense doctrine, we considerably reduced the number of major military exercises and maneuvers, and showed restraint in our defense organization, which we are now basing mainly on quality parameters—as regards both technical equipment and the staff of our Armed Forces.

West May Be Invited To Monitor Troop Reductions

LD2212210088 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] The Soviet Union is prepared for control by the West of its unilateral Armed Forces reductions announced by Mikhail Gorbachev at the United Nations on the 7th of this month.

The military adviser of the Communist Party Central Committee, Major General Geliy Batenin, has said in an interview with our correspondent that the question is now under consideration of inviting foreign observers to monitor the main stage of the withdrawal of 50,000 Soviet troops from the line separating the NATO and Warsaw Treaty forces.

3d Session of INF Treaty Talks End in Geneva

LD2212120788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] The third session of the Soviet-U.S. special verification [kontrolnoy] commission, established in accordance with the treaty between the USSR and the United States on the liquidation of their medium and shorter-range missiles, has ended in Geneva. The sides discussed questions connected with increasing the viability and effectiveness of the INF Treaty.

3d Round of Nuclear Test Ban Talks Conclude

LD2212210688 Moscow TASS in English 2028 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 22 TASS—By TASS military news analyst Vladimir Bogachev:

The White House and U.S. diplomats differently assess the outcome of the recently-concluded third round of the Soviet-U.S. Nuclear Testing Talks (NTT).

An official statement of the White House pointed out that the round had been "a successful one" while U.S. delegation members in Geneva who, incidentally, did not want journalists to mention their names, said that the round had ended in a deadlock situation.

What can explain such a difference in evaluations?

In its statement the White House confirmed U.S. renunciation of a complete ban on all tests of nuclear weapons in the foreseeable future.

"As long as we must rely on nuclear weapons, we must continue to test to ensure their safety, security, reliability, effectiveness, and survivability", the statement said.

From this viewpoint, the third round of the NTT can be [as received] really assessed as "a successful one": Ratification of the 1974 treaty on the limitation on underground nuclear weapon tests (Threshold Test Ban Treaty) (TTBT) and the 1976 treaty on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful Purposes (Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty) (PNET) is being postponed again.

Way back in 1982 the White House announced termination of U.S. efforts to elaborate an agreement on a comprehensive nuclear test ban, pleading the need to refine at first verification measures under the non-ratified 1974 treaty on limiting the yield of explosions.

In January 1987 President Ronald Reagan sent a message to the Senate, expressing readiness to agree to ratification of the 1974 and 1976 treaties. The U.S. Administration in the end agreed to full-scale NTT talks. Joint Soviet-U.S. experiments on methods to determine the yield of explosions were carried out.

However, in spring this year Washington toughened its approach to the nuclear test ban issue. During the Joint Verification Experiments (JVE) the U.S. side, as THE WASHINGTON POST newspaper put it, several times found itself in an embarrassing position. In particular, experts of the world-known Livermore Laboratory questioned Washington's statement on the Soviet side's alleged violations of the agreed limits on the yield of underground nuclear tests.

During the third round of full-scale talks on limiting and stopping nuclear tests, the sides coordinated a new protocol to the PNET, drew up a document on coordinating verification measures for the TTBT, and summed up JVE results.

Taking all that into consideration, the Soviet side described the third round of NTT as positive.

It is hoped in the Soviet Union that as soon as preparation for ratification of the TTBT and the PNET is completed, the USSR and the USA delegations at NTT will begin without delay constructively to discuss the problems concerning a complete and general ban on all tests of nuclear weapons.

Gerasimov Says Bush Relatives To Bring Quake Aid
LD2312101688 Moscow TASS in English 0950 GMT 23 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 23 TASS—U.S. President-elect George Bush's son and grandson will arrive in Armenia within the next few days, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said today.

Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the ministry's information directorate, said John E. Bush and George P. Bush will participate in a ceremony of transferring to Armenia relief aid from the United States.

He told a TASS diplomatic correspondent that the aid includes medicines, medical equipment and toys collected by the Americare's charity organisation for Armenian children who survived the earthquake.

Petrovskiy Holds 22 Dec News Conference

On Fulfilling Geneva Accords
LD2212155388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1508 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Excerpt] Moscow, 22 Dec (TASS)—"The Soviet Union firmly advocates that the Geneva agreements on a political settlement in Afghanistan should be fulfilled in total as is envisaged by their letter and spirit," Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy USSR foreign minister, stated here today at a news conference.

Answering journalists' questions, he stressed that at the present time the efforts of Soviet diplomacy were directed at fulfillment of the Geneva agreements, envisaging, in particular, withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan by 15 February 1989. "We are doing everything possible to this end, but efforts are also required on the part of the other signatories to the Geneva agreements. And their guarantors—not only the Soviet Union, but the United States as well—must play their part. We also expect the UN Organization to play an active part."

It is also necessary, he continued, to create the opportunity for the Afghans themselves to engage in solving their own problems around the negotiating table. "It is for this aim that we have now started implementing certain contacts, including with the armed opposition," he said. [passage omitted]

On 43d UN General Assembly
LD2212160488 Moscow TASS in English 1513 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 22 TASS—The 43rd session of the United Nations General Assembly has graphically demonstrated that this most versatile international organization can accumulate the diverse and sometimes divergent interests of different states, a Soviet deputy foreign minister said today.

Speaking at a news conference here on Thursday, Vladimir Petrovskiy backed this up by pointing to the increased number of resolutions passed by the assembly by consensus. These accounted for about a third of a total of 219 at this session.

The session showed a breakthrough in humanity's realization of the need to affirm the primacy of law and morals in relations among nations and to ensure security in every area by political means, he continued.

This was the case during the debate on a comprehensive approach to security in keeping with the U.N. Charter, a discussion initiated by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This was vividly demonstrated also by the results of the vote on a relevant resolution, which was adopted by a vast majority (97 "for" votes and 45 abstentions).

In its other resolutions and decisions the General Assembly approved the INF Treaty and Soviet-U.S. talks on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms, Petrovskiy noted.

The assembly especially stressed the need to observe the ABM Treaty and keep weapons out of space and to put an end to nuclear testing. It reaffirmed the priority of banning chemical warfare agents and making sure they are not used.

A total of 67 resolutions were passed on disarmament issues, 27 of them by consensus.

The consensus resolution on Afghanistan, emphasizing unfailing respect for the Geneva agreements and the meticulous observance of their letter and spirit by all the parties, is an important result of the session, the Soviet deputy foreign minister said.

The session demonstrated that a comprehensive approach to strengthening peace and security makes it possible not only to analyze the state of world affairs in general but also to map out ways of further progress in all directions, Petrovskiy said.

He described Mikhail Gorbachev's U.N. address as an alloy of philosophical, political and practical ideas forming a "platform for further action in the United Nations to democratise, humanise and deideologise international relations".

TASS Reviews Agenda at 43d UN General Assembly
LD2212174688 Moscow TASS in English 1710 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] New York December 22 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Chernyshev:

The bulk of the work of the 43rd session of the United Nations General Assembly is drawing to a close today. The session has been held on the whole in the spirit of

the countries' aspiration jointly to look for collective solutions to the problems facing mankind and to utilise conditions, which are favourable for enhancing the role and effectiveness of the U.N., to improve the international situation and to create good prerequisites for headway to a nuclear-weapons-free and non-violent world.

The delegates to the session have been greatly impressed by the speech delivered at the session by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

A spokesman for the U.N. secretary-general told the TASS correspondent that Javier Perez de Cuellar had studied the speech most attentively. He was extremely gratified by the fact that the Soviet leader in his speech at the session voiced resolute support for the United Nations Organisation. The speech was notable for both ideas and vision of the world contained in it and by far-reaching proposals on solutions to world problems. In the judgement of the U.N. secretary-general, the Soviet leader's address at U.N. became a remarkable contribution to the exchange of views in the General Assembly on the world's future.

Mankind's embarking upon the road of nuclear disarmament as a result of the INF Treaty and the start of a real settlement of a number of acute regional conflicts had a beneficial effect on many resolutions of the 43rd session.

It was for the first time that the General Assembly on the strength of consensus passed a resolution on the situation in Afghanistan, welcoming the signing of the Geneva agreements under U.N. auspices, and called for strict respect for and observance of the agreements in good faith by all the parties concerned which should fully adhere to the spirit and letter of the agreements.

The session-adopted tangible package of resolutions on disarmament and international security issues was prompted by a desire to do away with the era of wars and confrontation. The resolution on a comprehensive approach to the strengthening of international peace and security is of particular importance. This approach, in the opinion of the international community, calls for coordinated efforts and close cooperation of all countries on the basis of the U.N. Charter in order to resolve critically important matters in such fields as disarmament, a peaceful settlement of disputes and conflicts, international economic cooperation and development, environmental protection, human rights and basic freedoms.

At the U.N. session, representatives of U.N. member nations called for giving an irreversible character to the disarmament process, for removing the nuclear threat, for preventing an arms race in outer space, for banning chemical weapons, for eliminating the stocks of chemical weapoons, for limiting and reducing conventional arms, and pointed out the inadmissibility of the utilisation of scientific and technological progress for military purposes.

The delegates to the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly welcomed the ratification and the start of implementation of the INF Treaty, and urged the United States and the Soviet Union to make every effort to reach agreement on a 50 percent cut in strategic offensive arms at an earliest date.

The session proceedings also reflected the fact that the legacy and inertia of the past still have a negative effect on the state of affairs in the world and hinder a settlement of many protracted conflicts, dooming peoples to continued suffering and hardships.

At the latest stage of the session, the discussion of the Palestinian problem was particularly keen. For the first time in U.N. history the General Assembly had to transfer the discussion of one of items on its agenda from its headquarters to the Geneva office, owing to the unlawful stand of the United States which denied an entry visa to PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat.

Upon having discussed in Geneva the item concerning the situation in Palestine, the world body recognised the proclamation of a State of Palestine and, confirming an urgent need for a just and comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Palestine issue is the core, called for holding an international Middle East peace conference under U.N. auspices with the participation of all parties, including the PLO and five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, on the basis of equality.

It was suggested that the council consider measures necessary for the convocation of an international conference, including the setting up of a preparatory committee with this end in view.

The delegates to the session devoted much attention to the need to ensure mankind's ecological security, to resolve the acutest socio-economic problems, to eliminate hunger and poverty, and to eradicate racism, colonialism and apartheid.

Primakov on Philosophy of Gorbachev UN Speech

LD1712101288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; interview with Academician Primakov, director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations, by unidentified correspondent; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Primakov] Right now when those, I would say, on-the-spot commentaries examining the specific proposals in the speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev have died away, more and more attention is being

devoted to the philosophical part of the speech and the philosophical approaches of the Soviet Union. I am sure that this speech has been placed in front of analysts; I'm sure about that. But it seems to me that the main point of this speech is that the philosophical approaches in it and the new political thinking have been reinforced with quite precise, specific, and constructive proposals.

[Correspondent] In the past statements were sometimes made, not frequently it is true, to the effect that when our common philosophical opinions were expressed they were, perhaps, not sufficiently linked with real practice.

[Primakov] Moreover I can tell you that when, for example, we said that we were ready to build defense, as it were, on the basis of reasonable sufficiency and to devote to this a regrouping and a new structure of our Armed Forces, we were asked: Where is the evidence? Mikhail Sergeyevich provided this evidence. We are now extensively reducing our Armed Forces on a unilateral basis.

[Correspondent] In this connection, what is the importance of the reduction on a priority basis of tank and assault landing troops?

[Primakov] I think this proves that we are increasingly placing military affairs on the level of nonoffensive defense. But right now I would draw attention to another point. I think that a representative of the Carnegie Foundation—I can't remember exactly—yes, a representative of the Carnegie Foundation—said in a speech that Gorbachev has put the Soviet Union's foreign policy activities on the basis of profitability. This was the motive, as it were, of the practical measures offered by the head of the Soviet state. It seems to me that one can agree with this. Reasonable sufficiency, reliability of defense; but at the same time the possibility of transferring, for the most part, the forces remaining after this reliable defense, to the socioeconomic development of the Soviet state and nonparticipation in conflicts, conflicts which take a lot of our resources and opportunities and have given us virtually nothing: Surely this is profitability, this is indeed profitability in foreign policy matters. At the same time, profitability is demonstrated by the way this foreign policy activity is leading to freeing mankind of the horror of universal destruction. This is the main overall profitability, as it were, of this matter.

[Correspondent] A more effective and cheaper foreign policy?

[Primakov] More effective, yes, and making it possible to optimize the formula of resources channeled into defense and resources channeled directly to social development and the people's well-being.

I would also draw attention to another aspect of the matter. It seems to me that all this is being hushed up, or at least it is not receiving sufficient coverage in the newspapers in particular. On the one hand, we are putting forward constructive proposals. We are really willing to compromise and are conducting matters in a flexible manner. But at the same time we are not deviating from our principles anywhere. Mikhail Sergeyevich considered it necessary in this very speech—in the wake of the U.S. refusal to grant a visa to 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO, to arrive and make a speech at the UN General Assembly—he considered it possible to level sharp criticism in this very speech to the General Assembly towards the U.S. Administration. This shows the principled nature of our position. This is forcing the United States to alter its ways in many respects. I think that if the United States has now begun, or begins talks with the PLO, this is not least because they see to what extent the Soviet Union's position is being supported by everyone in the world.

Commentary Praises Rajiv Gandhi Visit to PRC

OW2012132488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1145 GMT 20 Dec 88

[From "The World Today" program, presented by Igor Goranskiy]

[Text] The visit of Rajiv Gandhi to China continues. The arrival of the high-ranking Indian guest in Beijing is seen there as an event of exceptional importance in the history of bilateral relations.

The talks between PRC Premier Li Peng and Indian Prime Minister Gandhi have touched on a number of questions pertaining to Sino-Indian relations as well as on international problems. Among these is the border issue. In particular, the Chinese premier stated that this issue could be solved by the interested countries on the basis of mutual understanding and agreement. We know, the premier noted, that it is precisely the border issue that has served as an obstacle to improving bilateral relations.

The participants in the talks have touched on the Tibet issue. India considers Tibet to be an autonomous region of China, while the Chinese side announced that the Chinese Government takes note of India's principled position on this issue and its noninterference in China's domestic affairs.

The improvement of Sino-Indian relations is beneficial not only to China and India, but it would also make a contribution to the cause of peace in all of Asia.

Frank, Realistic Approach Needed on Third World

PM2212154588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 5

[D. Volskiy article under rubric "Problems and Opinions": "We and the 'Third World' Through the Prism of Modern Thinking"]

[Text] During the years of stagnation, a great deal hardened and set, including our ideas on the "Third World." It seemed that little changed there—not counting the natural succession of generations and political

figures. The surprises which the immense, diverse conglomerate of developing countries—where most of the world's population is concentrated—has begun to increasingly frequently serve up has therefore been all the more unexpected for the Soviet public.

It has happened more than once that some African or Asian state has turned out to be quite different from the way much of our press has portrayed it. It is true that this has usually only been possible to establish after the regime there has collapsed. Only then has it become known that, once in power, the "national-patriotic forces" have conducted themselves like feudal or even pre-feudal lords; that the "important national economic projects" created with a wave of their hands, using national, or more often than not, borrowed, money were needed simply to gratify their vanity; and that the country that had embarked on a path of "progressive transformations" and "the strengthening of national independence" has reached economic catastrophe and its tired, angry people have finally lost patience and overthrown their rulers.

As a rule, this has been a revelation to many of our newspaper readers. Even when it has been a question of countries not connected to the Soviet Union in any way other than by ordinary diplomatic relations.

Indeed, what did we know about the system in the "Central African Empire" under Bokassa I before the "emperor" was overthrown and finally found himself on trial in his own capital, where the court established that he had deliberately annihilated schoolchildren and even found him guilty of such a sin as cannibalism? It cannot be said that our press spoiled the "empire" with attention—it was rather considered pro-Western and pro-French in orientation. But the attitude to it and to its head was quite amicable, if somewhat distant.

On the other hand, no less cruel a ruler of another African country, the Ugandan dictator Amin, was more highly appraised in our press. Unlike Bokassa, who pretended to Europeanization, he tyrannized his people by appealing to national customs and anticolonial feeling. Moreover, Amin expelled foreign traders from the country, for which he was awarded restrained praise in some of our publications—restrained, not because he thereby undermined the Ugandan economy but because the traders he expelled were mainly Indians, whom we did not wish to offend either. But, on the other hand, the tyrant came in for strong criticism from our newspapers when he fled Uganda.

This list of examples from the practice of the seventies and early eighties could be continued. Unfortunately, we cannot say that this kind of approach to developing countries has been completely eradicated even today. For example, surely the current events in Burma must have come as a surprise—in any case for those people in our country who, not for any official reason but out of interest in that unique country, have been following its life? In vain would they have searched in our newspapers and journals for information that anticipated the fall of Ne Win. It would be equally hard to find objective, impartial assessments in our press of, for example, a phenomenon that is now very widespread in Muslim countries: attempts to implant laws based on the Shari'ah—laws quite appropriate to the 7th century but which, on the threshold of the 21st century, are an anachronism and can hardly lead to anything but the bloody turmoil we are now witnessing.

It should be pointed out that an analysis of religious, communal, and ethnic factors, which largely determine the situation in a considerable number of Asian and African countries, is forging a path with great difficulty in our publications, to say nothing of our radio and television. Ignoring such factors as national character, historical traditions, geographical peculiarities, and also the reserves of capitalism which are by no means exhausted in the developing world has meant that our mass information media have in fact overlooked the symptoms of its stratification. And, first and foremost, the appearance of a group of "new industrial countries" in East Asia.

There are exceptions, of course. Not only now but in the past as well. Even in past years you have been able to read intelligently written analyses and reports from developing countries in our newspapers and journals. But how inventive the authors of these articles have had to be to manage to avoid sharp corners but nevertheless say something meaningful! As a result, the public has formed a rather strange picture of the "Third World," in which elements of objective reality are oddly combined and interwoven with far-fetched notions that are more a reflection of what is desired than what is actually true. You could say that it is a black and white picture with general rosy overtones. It lacks any bright range of colors, as the reluctance to see negative phenomena in the "Third World" has been compounded by their playing down and sometimes even ignoring the real values in which the history and culture of most developing countries, the heirs to ancient civilizations, are so rich. This legacy, of course, is not only frozen in the stones of Angkor and the Taj Mahal but is also embodied in the spiritual outlook of millions of people, in their way of life, thoughts, and feelings. It is also embodied therefore in the policies—foreign and domestic—of the states they populate. But all this has remained the domain of specialized literature. The brilliant traditions of Russian oriental studies are well known. These traditions are still preserved today—but mainly only in scientific works printed, alas, in a pathetic number of copies and therefore not having any real impact on the public's perception of the developing world.

So I certainly do not intend to blame our scientists or our journalists for everything. All have done what they can. But they have had to work in the difficult conditions of

the administrative-edict system and firmly rooted dogmatic thinking. These two phenomena were interconnected, like two sides of the same fortress wall, which it has been extremely difficult to climb over for the sake of objectively portraying "Third World" realities.

I can remember how a television commentator who had decided to present some of the facts about the "activities" of the aforementioned "emperor" Bokassa with reference to the foreign press was told not to do so, although at that time it was already clear to everyone that the tyrant's rule was coming to an inglorious end.

A role was also played by cables from envoys, who often found it painful to read even the slightest criticism in the Soviet press of phenomena in the life of the country to which they had been sent.

Interpreting any publication in the Soviet press as a reflection of the Soviet Government's official position, we have schooled "Third World" politicians and journalist colleagues to think this way too. As if we had not noticed the difference between a newspaper article and a diplomatic note! Some diplomatic officials would possibly find it easier if our press were to simply lavish praise on the leaders of the countries in which they work, glossing over their mistakes, sometimes even crimes, and turning a blind eye to objective reality. Only it is highly doubtful that this would benefit Soviet foreign policy or even the "Third World" country itself. More likely it would produce the opposite result.

This kind of approach would only make some sense in one instance: If we were to regard the developing world as an arena of permanent confrontation between external forces. And not so much between capitalism and socialism as directly between the United States and the Soviet Union. The American "doctrine of neoglobalism" is founded on this approach. The following concept has appeared in the U.S. political lexicon in this connection: "Winning" this or that developing country "away from communism." Moreover, by "communism" they do not mean the social system as such but the system of ties with the Soviet Union and other socialist states. The concept of "winning away" has engendered the practice whereby Washington gives support to rebel antigovernment movements in the most diverse "Third World" states that are friendly to the Soviet Union—from Angola to Nicaragua, from Cambodia to Afghanistan. This is one aspect. Another aspect is its "indulgence" of any pro-American dictator, based on the principle: "He may be a bastard but at least he's our bastard."

But time makes new demands. It is becoming increasingly clear that interference in the internal affairs of other states is having a destructive impact on the formation of a peaceful order. Despite the difference in social system, a balance of interests within an international framework should be found for the sake of survival and progress.

The "mirror image" in Soviet propaganda and sometimes also in the practice of the American approach and the division of developing countries into "theirs" and "ours," when the latter are given absolution in advance, is not conducive either to the authority of Soviet policy or to the development—economic, political, and spiritual—of the "Third World" countries themselves. Including those that have chosen a path of socialist orientation.

Without going into an analysis of the concept of socialist orientation, we will simply point out that a whole series of states which have chosen this path have recently begun to implement substantial reforms intended to rectify the shortcomings found there in various spheres of life. We can also see the same thing happening in a number of other "Third World" countries. There is no doubt that this is the result not only of the internal processes taking place in these countries but also of the impact from restructuring in the Soviet Union. This is gratifying. After all, the example being taken is not that of the administrative-edict system, which particularly impressed by no means the best representatives of liberated countries, but the policy of overcoming this system and relying on the people and each individual with his own potential and the policy of democratization and glasnost.

Surely it follows from this that life itself dictates the establishment of glasnost and sincerity in our relations with developing states? This can only benefit both us and them. The Soviet Union's cooperation with developing countries would only gain from sincerity. What is stronger than friendship free of ostentation and falsity?! After all, by its very nature, real friendship is characterized by directness and openness, when you speak your mind even about things that it is not always pleasant to hear.

It is an understatement to say that the problems faced by these countries today are complex—they are diverse in the extreme. It is impossible to discover the right approach to them through stereotyped, dogmatic thinking and without objectively, impartially analyzing both present-day realities, however harsh, and the historical traditions of each country, its unique features, and the diversity of the paths of development opening up before it. After all, the fact that there are many varieties of development is now axiomatic. This lies at the basis of a country's freedom to choose its mode of development which, in turn, is inseparable from international security.

United States & Canada

Matlock, Vorontsov Discuss New Afghan Government

LD2212192588 Moscow TASS in English 1906 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 22 TASS—Yuliy Vorontsov and Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, first deputies of the USSR Foreign Ministry, received Jack Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR. During a thorough talk, the sides discussed specific aspects of creating appropriate conditions for forming an Afghan government on a broad basis.

Reagan on 'Tremendous Change' in USSR Ties

LD2312105288 Moscow TASS in English 1005 GMT 23 Dec 88

[Text] Washington December 23 TASS—"There have been tremendous change" in Soviet-American relations over the past three years, U.S. President Ronald Reagan said in his interview with David Brinkley of ABC News on Thursday [22 December].

President Reagan who is transferring the reins of government to his successor George Bush on January 20 next year said that "the INF Treaty, which destroyed a whole kind of nuclear missiles in both countries" was an example of this change. He emphasised that all the previous "detente agreements were based on how fast or how slow will we agree to increase the weapons."

Along with the basic changes in the both sides' approach to the question of arms race limitation, President Reagan noted the current fundamental changes in the Soviet Union.

"The people of Russia, I think, have a sense of what perestroyka and glasnost would mean to them and I think the people are very supportive of what he is doing," Reagan said.

At the same time, Reagan said the United States would continue the "policy of peace through strength" towards the Soviet Union, following the Russian phrase "trust but verify."

Arbatov on 'Favorable' Prospects for U.S. Ties

LD2312060088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1535 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, 22 Dec (TASS)—The prospects for Soviet-U.S. relations are favorable, Academician Georgiy Arbatov believes. There are no grounds at present for expecting a deterioration in Soviet-U.S. relations, but a certain pause in their development is possible, the academician went on, speaking today at a general meeting of the Department of the World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

"This is partially connected with the change in the U.S. Administration, but probably the main thing here is that at the moment, the United States has no conception of the development of these relations", Georgiy Arbatov expounded. "And here the Americans will evidently have to begin their own restructuring, at least in the field of foreign policy, because the baggage they are carrying at the moment does not correspond with the realities of the modern world."

The academician emphasized that mutual understanding has gradually begun to develop, and that elements of trust have arisen in relations between the USSR and the United States. Material evidence that a new situation is emerging was the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the liquidation of intermediate- and short-range missiles. At the same time, Georgiy Arbatov said, one cannot underestimate the role and the influence of those circles in the United States for whom a breaking down of old stereotypes means that it is impossible to carry out the traditional policy from a position of strength.

The new political thinking in international relations has led to an erosion of the image of the Soviet Union as enemy number 1, an image that has been cultivated in the United States for so long. Georgiy Arbatov gave us a clear example of this: the assistance that the American people are rendering to the people of Armenia who suffered from the earthquake of 7 December. "I have just returned from America, where I saw how many Americans are taking part in this noble cause," Georgiy Arbatov said.

Heritage Foundation Agenda, Tactics Criticized

PM2212163588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[Article by own political observer Vitaliy Korionov: "Who Needs This Kind of 'Mandate'?"]

[Text] In less than a month the new U.S. Administration will take over the helm of the ship of state. George Bush, the 41st U.S. president, will take office at a very crucial moment. Positive opportunities for strengthening universal peace are opening up before the country and the entire international community. R. Reagan, summing up the results of his presidency in the foreign policy sphere, and above all in the sphere of Soviet-U.S. relations, said at his last news conference: The road remains open and the advance of peace continues; this means that our responsibility has increased, rather than decreased.

The practical results: five Soviet-U.S. summits during the past 3 years, and the signing and entry into force of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

Welcoming the "flexibility and innovativeness" displayed by the Soviet head of state in his speech at the General Assembly session, the U.S. President-elect

stressed his great interest in the continuation of the arms control talks, and pointed out that his administration would "work hard" to formulate its stance as soon as possible.

However, by no means everyone in the United States wants to preserve the positive heritage that has been accumulated. Circles which would like to preserve an entirely different heritage are not resting in their activities. New evidence of this is the publication in the United States of a bulky volume titled "Mandate for Leadership. Volume 3. Political Strategy for the Nineties." This volume has emerged from the depths of the "Heritage Foundation" organization.

This organization is one of the main "brain trusts" of the U.S. establishment. Funded by a number of big corporations, the "Heritage Foundation" spares neither money nor effort in order to propagandize its extreme conservative platform. The focus of the "Foundation's" attention is the foisting of its political line on "the powers that be."

Characteristically, the organization's headquarters are located on Capitol Hill, and one of the "Foundation's" leaders stated without beating about the bush: "Our task consists in supplying the conservatives who are elaborating and implementing policy with the necessary arguments...." The "Heritage Foundation" regards the compilation of instructions, so-called "mandates," for new administrations as one of its key jobs.

During the 1980 and 1984 presidential elections, and subsequently, the "foundation" has been sending "recommendations" to the White House, the essence of which boils down to one thing—foisting an aggressive, anti-Soviet course on the administration.

However, life and the realities of the nuclear age have wiped out many of the schemes of the "foundation's" "extremists." Common sense has gained the upper hand in Washington: Soviet-U.S. relations have entered the stage of normalization. But the inciters at the "Heritage Foundation" have not laid down their arms. They have now trained their "sights" on the incoming administration.

The "Mandate for Leadership, Volume 3," which is 900 pages long and took 400 people to compile, is the platform of the extreme U.S. conservative forces for the post-Reagan period. Its aim is to wipe out everything positive that has been achieved in USSR-U.S. relations over the past 3 years.

The Soviet Union remains the main opponent of the United States, the authors of the "mandate" claim, doing their utmost to breathe some life into the dying myth of the "Soviet military threat." "It is necessary to step up efforts in the struggle against communism"—this is the theme that keeps recurring throughout the bulky volume. The Soviet restructuring has concernrd the gentlemen at the "foundation" because it could lead to a "strengthening of the communist system"—an argument with which they try to intimidate Americans. The "new Soviet diplomacy" is definitely not to their liking, either. They view the USSR's peace initiatives merely as "a more sophisticated challenge." In their search for a means to counter this "challenge," they have proposed that a special post of assistant national security adviser to the U.S. president be instituted in the White House, to take charge of elaborating counterproposals to the Soviet peace initatives.

There is no need to mention that "Mandate Volume 3" demands a buildup of military might from the new U.S. Administration, completely disregarding all budget restrictions. There is a peremptory-sounding call to deploy SDI as soon as possible and to postpone by a year the resumption of talks with the USSR on strategic offensive arms reduction.

As for Soviet-U.S. relations, it is proposed to adopt a tougher attitude. Summits, it appears, give rise to "fits of excessive enthusiasm" among Americans, and so their content must be eroded. At a time when the process of humanizing interstate relations is gaining more and more ground, the authors of "Mandate Volume 3" are proposing a course leading back to the worst times of the "cold war." They are charting a program of crude interference in the internal affairs of the USSR, other socialist countries, and developing states. An overtly provocative appeal has been made to support counterrevolutionary movements throughout the world and to activate subversive elements in the USSR, in the countries of East Europe, and "anti-communist insurgents" in various parts of the planet in every way. It is proposed to set up a special U.S. federal "agency to provide support for resistance movements."

Advance copies of the new "opus" were hastily sent to G. Bush and key figures in his entourage, while the main authors of the book held special briefings with Vice President-elect D. Quayle and future Secretary of State J. Baker. Nor did they fail to submit a list of candidates proposed by the "foundation" for leading posts in the new administration.

The rush to produce "Mandate Volume 3" is no isolated incident. It is just one more feature in a phenomenon being manifested more and more clearly in the U.S. political arena. I am referring to the feverish mobilization of right-wing forces, which seem to be aware that time is working against them. The latest public opinion polls indicate that the overwhelming majority of Americans favor a further improvement in USSR-U.S. relations.

There can be no doubt that the extreme right-wing forces will leave no stone unturned in order to exert pressure on the new White House incumbent and his "team." Time will tell whether they can achieve anything in this respect. However, it is to be hoped that a realistic approach will prevail in Washington. As for the Soviet stance—it is not subject to any doubt: The USSR will do everything in its

power to ensure that normal, constructive relations between our two countries play an increasingly effective role in normalizing the situation on our planet.

Northeast Asia

Shevardnadze Begins Working Visit in DPRK

Arrives 22 Dec

LD2212145588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1442 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] Pyongyang, 22 Dec (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, arrived today on a working visit at the invitation of the DPRK Government.

He was met at Sunan Airport by Kim Yong-nam, member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Workers Party of Korea, vice premier of the Administrative Council, and DPRK foreign minister; and other officials.

Lays Wreaths at Monuments

LD2312092588 Moscow TASS in English 0737 GMT 23 Dec 88

[Text] Pyongyang December 23 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who is on a working visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), laid wreaths at the Taesongsan Cemetery of Revolutionaries and the "liberation" monument in Pyongyang on Friday. The memorial is dedicated to Soviet soldiers who died liberating Korea from Japanese troops in August 1945.

A wreath was also laid at a memorial to Chinese volunteers who were killed repelling American aggression against Korea in 1950-1953.

Meets With Kim Yong-nam

LD2312092288 Moscow TASS in English 0843 GMT 23 Dec 88

[Text] Pyongyang December 23 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, Soviet foreign minister, who is visiting the DPRK, held talks with Kim Yong-nam, member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Workers Party of Korea, vice premier of the Administrative Council, and DPRK foreign minister, in Pyongyang on Friday [23 December].

The talks were held in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding. The sides discussed ways to expand and strengthen Soviet-Korean relations, and they paid much attention to the situation in the Far East and on the Asian Continent as a whole.

Meets With Kim Il-song

LD2312112688 Moscow TASS in English 1118 GMT 23 Dec 88

[Text] Pyongyang December 23 TASS—The leader of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Kim Il-song, met today with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

Shevardnadze handed over to Kim a personal message from Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

In the conversation held in a cordial atmosphere the two sides expressed their mutual desire actively to work in the field of Soviet-Korean relations and broaden ties and contacts between the USSR and the DPRK.

The sides stated with satisfaction that the security and cooperation programme for the Asia-Pacific region, formulated in statements by the Soviet leader in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk and in proposals advanced by the DPRK and other socialist countries, was a basis for promoting an extensive political dialogue.

Japanese Cabinet Secretary on Shevardnadze Talks

LD2312025588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2025 GMT 22 Dec 88

[From "The World Today" program; interview with Japanese Chief Cabinet Secretary Keizo Obuchi by Vladimir Tsvetov; Obuchi speaks in Japanese with superimposed Russian translation—recorded]

[Text] [Tsvetov] Mr Obuchi, how do you view the results of the talks that have just taken place between the Soviet and Japanese foreign ministers?

[Obuchi] Before answering your question, I would like, in my capacity as a representative of Japan, to express my profound condolences on the tragedy in Armenia, where a destructive earthquake occurred. Now for your question. Two and one-half years have elapsed since Mr Shevardnadze's last visit to Japan, and we are very pleased with the successful completion of Japanese-Soviet talks. We put a high value on the sincere and serious exchange of views on questions relating to the international situation and Japanese-Soviet relations. It is to be greatly regretted that no definitive resolution of the territorial question—which in our opinion is the main obstacle to the development of Japanese-Soviet relations—was reached. Nevertheless, thanks to these talks, the dialogue between our countries will be widened, and this inspires a feeling of satisfaction. We place a very high value on the results of the talks, for they could be the first step toward the resolution of the territorial question and subsequently the conclusion of a peace treaty.

[Tsvetov] Mr Obuchi, it is said that politics is the art of the possible. How, in your view, was this art manifested in these talks?

[Obuchi] You have used a very interesting phrase. To achieve stable relations between our countries on the basis of the resolution of the territorial question and the conclusion of a peace treaty, there are the possibilities enshrined in the 1956 joint declaration on the restoration of diplomatic relations and the 1973 accord between Prime Minister Tanaki and Brezhnev. But these possibilities are not, regrettably, being exploited. As far as art is concerned, you need either a stage or a canvas. To turn Japanese-Soviet relations into a work of art, you thus need a stage. We in Japan hope that with the help of the new Soviet political thinking, it will prove possible to create such a stage.

[Tsvetov] In his speech to the United Nations, Comrade Gorbachev put forward a noteworthy plan to reduce armaments, and the Soviet Union itself has unilaterally begun to reduce its conventional armaments and Armed Forces. What is your assessment of this Soviet step?

[Obuchi] I have already at a news conference given my assessment of this speech by General Secretary Gorbachev. In principle, we greatly welcome the Soviet measure to unilaterally reduce conventional armaments and armed forces. We are following very closely the implementation of this Soviet intention. It is important for Japan to know whether the Soviet Armed Forces will be reduced in the Far East.

[Tsvetov] The Soviet Union and Japan play a very important internatioal role; they play a very important role in world affairs. In your view, how and in what specific context could the Soviet Union and Japan cooperate in international politics?

[Obuchi] The position of Japan and the Soviet Union coincides absolutely on questions of disarmament and peace. Japan has no nuclear weapons, so we expect that the countries that possess these weapons, primarily the USSR and the United States, will, following the agreement on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, reach an accord on a balanced reduction of strategic armaments and also on a reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe. As far as the Asia-Pacific region is concerned, before starting similar talks here, an atmosphere of stability and mutual trust must be created by resolving the problems of the Korean Peninsula and Cambodia, and of course by resolving the issues of the northern territories and, as I have already mentioned, the reduction of Soviet Armed Forces in the Far East. This path will channel Japanese-Soviet relations in the right direction and will make it possible to conclude a peace treaty, which is something that the Japanese people sincerely desire.

[Tsvetov] Mr Obuchi, as you will no doubt be aware, the Soviet Union is now creating joint enterprise zones. What prospects do you see for Japanese involvement in these zones?

[Obuchi] We are very glad about the active discussion of the possibilities of joint Japanese-Soviet entrepreneurial activity. But if we are to be frank, another neighbor of ours—China—took up this sort of activity before you did, and it regrettably has to be admitted that our joint entrepreneurial activity is lagging behind. We believe it is right that joint enterprises with countries with a different economy have started to appear in your country. We intend to play an active part in joint enterprise zones. At the same time, we are somewhat uneasy at the complexities of joint entrepreneurship. But in gradually eliminating them, we must try to achieve a good result. At the risk of repeating myself, I say once again: It is necessary to take into account that the resolution of the territorial problem and the conclusion of a peace treaty would be a favorable background to the broad development of Japanese-Soviet trade and economic links. It has to be remembered that Japanese entrepreneurs are concerned above all about the profitability of their business activity, and it is thus important to lay down judicial guarantees for the activity of our entrepreneurs.

[Tsvetov] What is your understanding of the term: new political thinking?

[Obuchi] Gorbachev together with Shevardnadze have for more than 3 years now been implementing this new diplomatic philosophy. We used to regard Soviet foreign policy thinking as dogmatic, but we can now see a new political thinking, one notable for its great flexibility, and we also expect it to affect Soviet policy towards Japan. Foreign Minister Shevardnadze said that the Soviet Union intended to use the healing methods of the new political thinking to treat the painful areas in our relations. We seriously believe this statement, and we count on it being put into practical effect.

[Tsvetov] The buzzword in Japan at the moment is restructuring. What prospects for restructuring do you see in the Soviet Union?

[Obuchi] General Secretary Gorbachev has called for restructuring in the economic sphere. He links its successful implementation with glasnost and democratization in politics and society. Restructuring and glasnost have become very popular words in Japan, and we agree with the meaning contained in these words. New thinking is needed for social progress. It is something we also need. Specifically, we are now restructuring a number of state enterprises which very much needed to be restructured. I was present at the meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and Japanese Prime Minister Takeshita. Our head of government said that Japan, too, is pursuing its own particular restructuring. The Japanese economy has developed to its present level precisely thanks to the restructuring of old forms of economic management. Perhaps this may seem immodest, but it would be nice if our experience was of some slight use to you. The Japanese people are closely following the way in which the word restructuring is assuming

the form of real achievements, and the way in which the Soviet people, under the leadership of General Secretary Gorbachev, are struggling for economic progress.

Move Toward 'Consensus' in Tokyo Talks

PM2312095588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent S. Agafonov "Correspondent's Commentary": "A Step Toward Substantive Dialogue"]

[Text] USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze's visit to Japan is unquestionably the central event of the year in the calendar of Soviet-Japanese relations.

Both countries prepared carefully for this visit, and both countries were equally interested in it. Moscow, despite its involvement in U.S. and European affairs, could not ignore the fact that the level of contacts and mutual understanding with the capitalist world's No 2 power seriously lags behind the general dynamism of Soviet foreign policy—a lag manifested not just in the stagnation of bilateral relations but also in a certain marking of time on initiatives that concern Asia and the Pacific region as a whole.

Tokyo, on the other hand, has fallen behind its colleagues in the Western club, who have outstripped it by a whole length in the development of relations with the Soviet Union. Tokyo was also clearly facing the prospect of isolation in global East-West relations. In other words, both partners had a vital interest in correcting the imbalance, and therefore, I believe, the Soviet-Japanese talks at the foreign-ministerial level were bound to be successful from the outset.

Incidentally, let's take a look at what I mean by success. The results of the Tokyo meetings as reflected in the documents do not, objectively speaking, look revolutionary. There is the ratification of the convention on the protection of migratory birds, an exchange of notes under the program to implement the cultural agreement, and the joint communique, which is very positive in its choice of words but contains quite a few evasive formulations. Our mutual relations in the economic sphere are not yet marked by any substantial moves. Scientific and technical cooperation, apart from symbolical gestures, is still confined to a narrow range of fields specified by Japan, while our access to other sectors is simply barred. At first glance, trade seems to have increased promisingly this year, but we have to bear in mind that even given this increase it has not yet reached 2 percent of Japan's total foreign trade turnover.

Nonetheless, this backdrop does not alter the assessment of the talks that have just ended and on which both the Soviet and the Japanese delegations agree. As the Soviet foreign minister put it, it is a long way away from euphoria, but movement toward a more active dialogue has begun. This is, ultimately, what the participants were striving for. Speaking at a news conference, E.A. Shevardnadze described the talks as "very amicable in tone and highly substantive," and the visit as such as "one of the most fruitful in recent years."

The question arises: How is this to be understood if the visible results are not that significant? Judging by appearances, the answer lies in the sides' approach to the main stumbling block in Soviet-Japanese relations—the territorial problem.

Its history is a separate and long chapter. Let me just recall that the Japanese side lays claim to four Soviet islands—Khabomai, Shikotan, Kunashir, and Iturup—demanding that they be returned to Japan as territories which it owned from time immemorial. The Soviet side does not consider these claims to be legitimate and considers these islands an integral part of USSR territory. In Tokyo this question has been raised to the level of a principle. All talks on Soviet-Japanese relations begin and end with this question. All the country's political parties, regardless of hue, agree on the approach to this question. Ultimately, economic relations with our country also hinge on this question.

Moscow also regards the territorial question as fundamental, as a question which has a solid historical basis and is supported by serious legal arguments. For both Japan and the USSR a radical change of position would currently be tantamount to a loss of face. On the other hand, approaches based on ultimatums have proven their fruitlessness in past years.

Setting these deliberations aside, the round of the Japanese-Soviet talks which have just ended has to be rated as of truly key importance. Neither side changed its fundamental policy. However, while "sticking to their guns," the sides tried to discuss controversial matters in a calm atmosphere and without recourse to categorical demands. And it emerged that it is possible to listen to the partner and to jointly look for a compromise without damaging prestige and with benefits for the task at hand. It came to light that the stumbling block is not all that big. And finally, it became obvious that behind the blinders of the territorial impasse lies the whole unexplored territory of untapped opportunities of mutual interest. This step toward substantive dialogue is the positive element that elevates the current meeting above all previous ones.

It is still difficult to tell whether it will prove possible to keep this up and turn it into the basis for substantial progress in further contacts between our countries. There are forces in Japan, and quite influential forces at that, which regard any relaxation on the territorial question as a betrayal of national interests. And there are quite a few champions of a categorical "no" in our country, too.

However, in my opinion, a consensus has been reached over the past 4 days which gives preference to a flexible approach. The introduction of preparations for a Soviet-Japanese summit in the context of the talks is clearly designed to reinforce this consensus.

Tokyo and Moscow have successfully proven more than once over the past decades that they can get by without each other. But this is hardly a sufficiently convincing argument for preserving the atmosphere of the past.

Foreign Ministry Official Meets Japan's Uno

LD2312105188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0929 GMT 23 Dec 88

[Text] Tokyo, 23 Dec (TASS)—S. Uno, Japanese foreign minister, has received B.D. Pyadyshev, a member of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Collegium and editor in chief of MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN, who is here.

During the conversation, the minister stated that Japan looked favorably on the processes of restructuring in the Soviet Union, the foreign policy aspect of which was developed in the fundamental UN speech delivered on 7 December by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Sosuke Uno noted that the talks that USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze held in Tokyo recently were the most substantive of all the meetings at such a level in recent years. Their results mean that Soviet-Japanese relations are, it would seem, starting to emerge from their frozen state and are receiving the necessary impetus toward movement.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Shevardnadze Continues Visit to Philippines

Meets With Counterpart

LD2212134088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1238 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] Manila, 22 Dec (TASS)—Today Eduard Shevardnadze held talks with Raul Manglapus, foreign minister of the Philippine Republic.

The ministers exchanged views on topical international problems of mutual interest. The Soviet side gave a thorough analysis of the positive changes taking place in the world. The USSR's foreign policy initiatives and specific steps taken over the recent years have been aimed at making these changes a firm reality.

Eduard Shevardnadze explained the essence of the new Soviet proposals in the sphere of international relations which were voiced in Mikhail Gorbachev's UN speech. Raul Manglapus spoke highly of the course being followed by the USSR aimed at establishing new political thinking in international relations and at strengthening the climate of mutual trust and cooperation. Special attention was devoted to questions of strengthening security in the Asia-Pacific region in the context of the initiatives put forward in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk. The Phillippine foreign minister noted that many concepts and ideas that the Soviet side voiced on this are in harmony with the attitude of the Philippine Government.

Both sides expressed support for the efforts of the Southeast Asian states to settle the Cambodian problem by peaceful political means and expressed approval for the policy of developing a direct dialogue between the ASEAN member states and those of Indochina.

During a discussion of bilateral relations, the ministers spoke out in favor of making fuller use of the existing possibilities for further broadening relations in the areas of political dialogue, trade and economic cooperation, and cultural, scientific, athletic, and other exchanges.

The sides agreed that ties between the two countries should invariably be based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and on the priority of common human values.

E.A. Shevardnadze discussed the process of restructuring in the USSR, and the changes in the political system and management of the economy, including the field of foreign economic relations.

Concluding the talks, the foreign ministers of the two countries emphasized the importance of the discussions that took place in Manila, and expressed the hope that the personal contacts that had been established would facilitate the development of a Soviet-Filipino dialogue. R. Manglapus was handed an invitation to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union. It was accepted with gratitude.

Before departing by air from Manila, E.A. Shevardnadze held a news conference for Filipino and foreign journalists during which, among other things, he expressed sincere gratitude to the Philippine Government and people for their warm hospitality.

A joint Soviet-Philipino agreement, which will be published in the press, was agreed upon based on the results of the visit.

Further on Meeting

HK2212023588 Quezon City Radyo ng Bayan in Tagalog 0200 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Slantlines denote passages in English]

[Text] Foreign Affairs Secretary Raul Manglapus and visiting Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze held a /breakfast conference/ this morning. They discussed /bilateral trade relations/ which are expected to enhance economic cooperation between the Philippines

and the Soviet Union. Among the issues discussed by the two officials were increased trade, with the Philippines seeking additional /export incentives/and /liberalization/ in order to speed up the country's /economic recovery/. Tony Valencia has the full report:

[Begin recording] Manglapus also asked for an /open-arms policy/ for Filipino /manpower/, which would mainly involve the creation of jobs for Filipino workers in the /construction market/ in the USSR. A possible /technology transfer/, particularly in the field of /transportation/ and /communication/, was also discussed, with the Philippines hoping to apply Russian know-how to the local railway system. Russia is known for its /unsurpassed technology/ in /railway systems/ and this knowledge, Manglapus said, would be a big help in improving the Philippines' transport system. Being a /land power/, the USSR depends greatly on its /superb technology/ in /railway systems/ to cope with the country's immense territory.

Manglapus and Shevardnadze's discussion was /cordial/, with both expressing hopes that their dialogue would result in closer /trade relations/ and /diplomatic ties/ between the two countries. [end recording]

Notes Possible Pullout From SRV

BK2212105888 Quezon City RPN 9 Television in English 1000 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] Here is an update on the Shevardnadze visit. The Soviet foreign minister today hinted Moscow might dismantle its garrison in Vietnam without waiting for a Washington pullout from its bases in the Philippines as a step toward easing tension in the region.

Foreign Secretary Raul Manglapus says Shevardnadze indicated the Soviet position in a discussion of Mikhail Gorbachev's offer last September to withdraw Soviet forces from Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam if the U.S. withdraws from the Philippines.

Holds Talks With Aquino

LD2212122488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1143 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] Manila, 22 Dec (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, who is here on an official visit, has met with Corazon Aquino, president of the Republic of the Philippines.

He gave her a message from Mikhail Gorbachev which in particular expresses sincere gratitude from the Soviet people and leadership for the words of sympathy and support uttered by C. Aquino on behalf of the Philippine Government and people in connection with the severe natural disaster, the earthquake in Armenia. E. Shevardnadze expressed satisfaction over the state of and prospects for the development of Soviet-Philippine relations, stressing that the Soviet side intends to continue building them on the principles of equality, noninterference in internal affairs, and respect for each other's sovereignty and lawful interests.

The Soviet Union highly values the consistent stand of the Philippine Republic on questions of war and peace; the halting of the arms race and the liquidation of nuclear weapons; and ensuring universal and regional security. There is a wide basis for useful cooperation between our two states in the international arena and, first and foremost, in the United Nations Organization and at other international forums. Policies based on new political thinking—the Philippine Government supports these, too—require precisely such an approach.

President C. Aquino noted that the USSR's active foreign policy, its line toward a transition from confrontation to cooperation, toward the internationalization and humanization of international relations, meets with understanding and support in the Philippines.

M.S. Gorbachev's speech to the UN General Assembly is seen here as a further and very interesting development of the concept of international relations, based on the principles of new political thinking. The fact that the Soviet Union confirms by deeds its adherence to these principles is welcomed here. The Philippine president came out in favor of developing cooperation between both countries, for progress in trade and economic ties, and for an expansion of contacts at all levels. C. Aquino said that she is ready to pay an official visit to the USSR in accordance with the invitation that was extended. Specific dates for the visit will be agreed upon in the future. The conversation was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere. On the same day, President Aquino hosted a luncheon at Malacanang Palace in honor of the important Soviet guest.

Further on Meeting

HK2212085288 Manila Radio Veritas in Tagalog 0700 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Slantlines indicate passages in English]

[Text] Here is Gabby Salcedo reporting from Malacanang Palace:

[Begin recording] [Salcedo] The Soviet Union has assured that it will not interfere with the Philippines' internal affairs and problems. This was learned from the meeting that took place between President Aquino and visiting Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. They met here in Malacanang Palace. We were able to interview the president regarding their meeting in which Mr Shevardnadze conveyed Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's invitation to Mrs Aquino to visit the Soviet Union.

[First reporter] /Are you inviting Mr Gorbachev to visit the Philippines?/

[Aquino] /Well, actually, President Gorbachev invited me. So maybe after my visit there, then that will be the time for him possibly to come here. He has already sent the foreign minister. So what I intend to do is to send Secretary Manglapus to visit the Soviet Union and maybe they can prepare for my possible trip./

[Second reporter] /When will it be?/

[Aquino] /This will have to be worked out on both sides, so the preliminaries will have to be taken care of by Secretary Manglapus./

[Second reporter] /Ma'am, was the U.S. bases in this conversation with Shevardnadze?/

[Aquino] /No, not at all./

[Third reporter] /How did you find Mr Shevardnadze?/

[Aquino] /Very understanding and a very (?selfless) person, and he also assured me that they will never interfere in purely internal affairs./

[Salcedo] Still on the same meeting, let us give way to Press Secretary Benigno's briefing.

[Benigno in English] [words indistinct] The USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze [word indistinct] a 35-minute courtesy call on President Corazon Aquino at the music room of the Malacanang Palace. In the course of the courtersy call Foreign Minister Shevardnadze recalled the basic principles of Soviet foreign policy. Among them he mentioned mutual respect, equality and sovereignty, and the principle of noninterference in each others' affairs. Soon after, Minister Shevardnadze came to the end of his official remarks. President Aquino thanked him for enunciating the principles of noninterference, quote, in our domestic affairs, unquote. President Aquino said, quote, this is very important to us so the Filipino people know, so the communist insurgency knows, the (insurgency) cannot count on any support from the Soviet Union, period, unquote.

Minister Shevardnadze in reply, emphasized that the Soviet Union has never supported, nor has any intention of ever supporting the Communist Party of the Philippines-NPA [New People's Army] insurgency. Minister Shevardnadze pointed out that (in solving), he was speaking on behalf of the Soviet Government. [sentence as heard] He gave President Aquino the assurance and the statement was quote, the sincere position, unquote, of the Soviet Government led by Mikhail Gorbachev. This is very similar to the statement issued by Deng Xiaoping when the president visited China recently.

President Aquino then remarked that what is very important, quote, in her government's anti-insurgency campaign, was to address the basic needs of the Filipino people, unquote. She mentioned the program of reconciliation, coupled with economic recovery and development.

She also mentioned the government's program of rehabilitation for rebel returnees, exemplified by, among other things, the housing program that will soon take shape in Cagayan de Oro. Earlier during the courtesy visit, Minister Shevardnadze said he appreciated this opportunity to talk with President Aquino, quote, you are a legendary figure, unquote, he said. He added that he was conveying to President Aquino the best wishes and regards of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Minister Shevardnadze also handed President Aquino a letter from Mikhail Gorbachev saying that the leader was looking forward to meeting her in Moscow. The Philippine president thanked Soviet leader Gorbachev for the invitation to Moscow. While accepting the invitation in principle, no definite date so far has been agreed upon. That will be determined in the course of talks between leaders of both countries in the very near future.

[Salcedo] That was Press Secretary Teodoro Benigno giving an additional report on the meeting between President Corazon Aquino and the visiting Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. We repeat, the Soviet Union has assured that it will not interfere in internal affairs, especially the country's communist insurgency problem. [end recording]

Meanwhile, in an interview with Shevardnadze after his meeting with Foreign Affairs Secretary Raul Manglapus, the former said that they discussed ways to improve further bilateral ties between Moscow and Manila. They also talked about the plan to reduce Soviet troops in different countries abroad, the Cambodian problem, and the disarmament issue. He added that his conversation with Manglapus was very substantial.

Gives Speech at Luncheon

LD2212193388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1320 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] Manila, 22 Dec (TASS)—Philippines President Corazon Aquino gave a luncheon in honor of Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, who is here on a short working visit.

In his speech Eduard Shevardnadze said: Esteemed Madame President! The high honor has fallen to me to convey to you a personal message from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Allow me to add to the words of that message the expression of my

deep impression in meeting and talking with you. I am glad to express directly to you the Soviet people's admiration for your heroic life and destiny, which have been so dramatic and so happy.

As I speak of this, I recall how our visit—the first visit of a Soviet foreign minister to the Republic of the Philippines—began. Yesterday, as we laid a wreath on the monument to the national hero of the Philippines, Jose Rizal, we touched, as it were, the soul of your people. If it is true that the best path to a country is laid by its geniuses, then it is equally true that today politicians, too, undertake that mission.

They pave the way which must lead to a better mutual understanding and cooperation between peoples in the interests of their own development and universal peace. I suppose that in this sense our visit has actively served the attainment of this noble goal. In the conversation with you and in the course of talks with Mr R. Manglapus, I tried to explain M.S. Gorbachev's concept of new international relations, which he has recently outlined in his United Nations speech. Together with the program for the elimination of nuclear weapons, put forward earlier, we believe it cannot fail to meet a benevolent response in the country which has proclaimed a policy of freedom from nuclear weapons on its territory. We wish to believe that our aspiration for a considerable reduction of the armed forces and armaments beyond the national borders, the policy of confining military presence to one's own borders, and the priorities of trade and economic cooperation, are as close to it. Our visit fits into the wide context of building of a qualitatively new structure of relations between states. This structure presupposes a global democratic dialogue which must be devoid of the elements of ideologization. We are saying let nobody impose their own ideas and values on anybody, but let nobody encroach upon the freedom of choice either, which provides peoples with the right and the opportunity to independently choose their own course of development. In Manila we have discussed a range of important questions in three interrelated dimensions: the development of Soviet-Philippine relations, interaction between our countries in the interests of security and cooperation in the Asian-Pacific ocean region, and joint efforts to improve the general climate in international relations. We have arrived in the Philippines with an open heart, and we wish to see our relations with your country just as open, pure, and honest.

They are being built exclusively on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and the sides' lawful interests, mutual benefit, and naturally, noninterference in each other's internal affairs. As far as the regional and international aspects are concerned, here one cannot do without cooperation among peoples, without the internationalization of dialogue and of the negotiation process. In the conditions of these modern times each country can make its own contribution to the assertion of this tendency. Our invitation to such co-creativity is based on a feeling of confidence that the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Philippines are united in striving to protect the planet against a nuclear catastrophe, and to turn the Asian-Pacific Ocean region into a zone of peace.

In cooperating with one another, we can do a great deal to improve the situation in the region. Neither we nor you are indifferent to the problems of the intensification of military confrontation, of security as a whole, of ecology, of the struggle against natural disasters, and of preserving national traditions. The region abounds in reefs and myths. The reefs must be bypassed, the myths must be eliminated. The best navigational directions for doing this involves a new political thinking. Sometimes, one may hear that the Soviet Union is building up its forces in the region. Talks are needed to put an end to this myth and to get to the bottom of the differences. Tough stands do not lead anywhere, but movement leads toward goals. Examples of this are Afghanistan, the conclusion and start of the implementation of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the steps toward the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations, the striving to open a new chapter in contacts with Japan, and the change over to qualitatively different ties with the ASEAN countries. The journey begins with the first step. We must take the first step toward building new relations in the Asian-Pacific Ocean Region, toward the creation of the appropriate negotiation mechanism. To do that, the Soviet Union has proposed organizing a meeting of the region's foreign ministers. In positively appraising the potential of Soviet-Philippine cooperation and desiring to make effective use of it, we have absolutely no desire to drive a wedge between the Filipinos and their traditional allies. Nothing should prevent us from looking into the future, from seeing it in an even and clear light. The practice of exchanging messages at summit level, the organization of visits by state and public figures and by representatives of business circles, the restoration of interparliamentary ties, and the renewal of activity by friendship societies promises us much. We are soberly assessing the realities and regard your country as an important and independent political and economic partner.

At a moment when our countries are experiencing such an important and responsible period, when we are laying a new foundation for our mutual relations, I want to wish in time before Christmas and the New Year peace and prosperity to the Philippine people. We would be happy to see you, Madam President, as a guest of our country in the incoming year, 1989. May you and your family, and likewise your colleagues, have good health, and may all your plans and hopes be realized.

Members of the government and of congress, and eminent political and public figures of the Philippines were present at the luncheon.

Predeparture News Briefing

LD2212145888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1428 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] Manila, 22 Dec (TASS)—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, who has paid an official visit to the Philippines, held a news conference before leaving Manila by air, during which he replied to questions from journalists.

He was asked in particular whether there was a timetable for the reductions in the USSR's military presence on foreign territories. In reply it was stated that such a timetable does exist. Since we have taken the political decision to reduce our armed forces and armaments in the European part of the USSR and on the territory of our allies in Europe and in Mongolia, then, consequently, there is a timetable and procedure for implementing it, Shevardnadze stated.

The Soviet minister was also asked whether any rebel groups in the Philippines are trying to establish contacts with the USSR. It was stressed that the USSR does not give any support to rebel groups in the Philippines, and will not do so. This is a decision of the Soviet leadership.

Shevardnadze was asked about the USSR's attitude to the presence of U.S. military bases in the Philippines. In particular, foreign correspondents asked whether the USSR regards the presence of such a large contingent of foreign troops as an obstacle to reducing tension and lessening confrontation in the Asia-Pacific region.

In the words of the USSR foreign minister, the Soviet Union regards this negatively. At the same time, Shevardnadze stressed that the question of the fate of U.S. bases on the Philippines is a matter for the government of that country. It is precisely that government, together with the Philippine people, which should decide what to do about these military facilities.

'Joint Statement' Issued

PM2312105188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Dec 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report on 22 December Soviet-Philippine statement on Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's talks in Manila, entitled "Joint Statement"]

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR foreign minister of the USSR, paid an official visit to the Philippines on December 21-22, 1988. He was invited by the Government of the Republic of the Philippines.

Shevardnadze was received by President Corazon C. Aquino. The Soviet foreign minister handed over to the head of the Philippine state a message from Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

President Aquino and Shevardnadze expressed satisfaction with the headway in Soviet-Philippine relations on the basis of the principles of sovereign equality, noninterference in the internal affairs, freedom to choose the path of socio-political development, and non-impairing ties with traditional allies and friends.

It was stressed that the planned official visit to the USSR of President Aquino would make a tangible contribution to the development of relations between the two countries, to the good of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Philippines, and to the cause of world peace, international security, and comprehensive social, political and economic development.

The meeting and exchange of views were held between Shevardnadze and Foreign Minister Raul Manglapus, and it passed in a businesslike and cordial vein, in a very constructive spirit, and in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and good will. Questions of bilateral relations, and a wide spectrum of international problems, were considered from the standpoint of opportunities being opened up for long-term Soviet-Philippine interaction.

The ministers agreed that there existed scope for further intensifying contacts and continuing the political and economic dialogue between the USSR and the Philippines. They underscored the importance of the protocol on consultations of March 24, 1988, which introduces into practice the exchange of views between the two countries at different levels on matters of bilateral relations and the international situation.

The ministers noted with satisfaction that the positions of the USSR and the Philippines on many key and pressing issues of our time frequently coincide, are close or complement each other. Recognizing the important role of the United Nations organisation in promoting global peace, they declared in favour of a further extension and deepening of states' cooperation within the framework of the United Nations and other international forums.

In considering trade and economic relations, the sides expressed mutual interest in intensifying their efforts in this sphere, which would be facilitated by a fuller use of potentialities, the quest for new forms and areas of cooperation, as well as the completion of the negotiations on the projects already proposed, especially taking into account the opportunities for the development of the USSR's Far Eastern regions, which were mentioned in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in Krasnoyarsk.

In this connection the ministers, expressing the wish of the governments of the Soviet Union and the Philippines to promote interaction in trade, economy, science and

technology, concurred that the signing of an agreement on economic and scientific-technical cooperation to include the principles of long-term cooperation and also a list of specific projects be accelerated.

Both sides agreed to have as their goal for the next few years to increase the value of two-way trade to reach approximately 200 million dollars a year and create the necessary working mechanism: a joint commission on cooperation to tackle this task.

It was agreed to consider issues of extending soft credits for projects implemented within the framework of economic cooperation between the two countries.

Mutual desire was expressed to promote interparliamentary contacts, encourage exchanges in the field of culture, science, technology, sports, tourism, and also along the line of government departments and sister cities.

In discussing international issues, Shevardnadze dwelt in detail on the new Soviet initiatives which were expressed in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations, among them those concerning a unilateral reduction in the strength of and size of conventional weapons held by the USSR Armed Forces in the European and Asian parts of the country, the return to the homeland of Soviet troops temporarily stationed in the Mongolian People's Republic, and conversion of military-oriented enterprises to civilian work.

Manglapus spoke highly of the Soviet leader's speech, whose fundamental concept and practical aspects can, as he noted, move even farther the cause of international cooperation in the name of general commitment to peace and renunciation of violence in settling conflicts.

The ministers stated that a positive shift toward ameliorating the international environment and settling conflict situations had shaped up at present. It was noted that the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF) concluded by the USSR and the United States in May 1988, created a qualitatively new situation in the field of disarmament and exerted positive influence on the political climate in the world.

The sides expressed themselves in favor of stepping up, in the spirit of the new political thinking, a collective quest for ways to defuse world tensions, strengthen security through disarmament, enhance the United Nations' role in international affairs, and develop all-round cooperation of state irrespective of their social system.

It was stressed that at the time when an agreement between the USSR and the United States on a 50 per cent reduction in strategic offensive armaments, once implemented, would make a contribution to the cuase of global security, further cutbacks could be all the more desirable.

The Soviet Union and the Philippines would applaud a termination of all nuclear weapon tests. They favour a conclusion of a multilateral treaty on their total ban and consider it necessary that the nuclear weapons nonproliferation regime be strengthened. The sides underscored the importance of efforts to extend nuclear weapons-free zones in the world.

It was noted that the Philippines abides by the ASEAN declaration of 1967, which confirms, in part, that all foreign bases are temporary and are preserved with the clearly-expressed consent of respective parties only. Both sides voiced the hope that the presence of foreign military facilities and armed forces in other countries will diminish as military confrontation is reduced, and, it is to be hoped, eliminated—and as a consequence of this, the international situation normalized.

The Soviet Union and the Philippines call for scrupulous compliance with international legal standards now in force, and proceed from the premise that international law is mandatory for all states.

The ministers noted that the warming of the political climate on the globe made possible a shift toward defusing long-running regional conflicts. They declared for the United Nations to step up efforts to achieve a settlement of contentious issues by peaceful means, on the basis of honoring the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of states and full respect for peoples' right to choose ways and means of their social and political development.

They noted that noninterference in internal affairs implies the renunciation of the support of groups which have recourse to violence to attain their objectives.

Priority attention during the talks was paid to the situation in the Asia-Pacific region.

Shevardnadze emphasized the importance of Gorbachev's speech in Krasnoyarsk, in which the programme of practical actions to lower the level of military confrontation in the Asia-Pacific region, and of organising mutually beneficial cooperation to involve all Asia-Pacific states, was proposed.

Manglapus reacted positively to these proposals, which he described as impressive.

In discussing the situation in South-East Asia, the ministers welcomed a gradual transition here from mistrust and confrontation to peace, mutual understanding and cooperation. The USSR confirmed readiness to continue contributing to this process at regional and international levels. It was stressed that the idea of turning South-East Asia into a nuclear-free zone, once realized, would signal a contribution to the cause of enhancing international security not only in South-East Asia, but also in the Asia-Pacific region and all over the world.

The ministers expressed satisfaction that the Cambodian issue gradually transfers into the plane of practical solutions as a result of the accords reached during the informal meeting of the Cambodian parties, Indochinese countries, and ASEAN in Indonesia, and also the talks of Khmer representatives in Paris. They spoke out for continued dialogue, both between the Kampuchean parties and the two groups of South East-Asian states, aimed at achieving within the shortest possible time a Cambodian settlement and normalization of the situation in the region.

The USSR and the Philippines are unanimous in their view that the solution of the Cambodian issue should ensure a peaceful, sovereign, and independent status for Cambodia, guaranteeing against the possibility of restoring the former genocide regime.

The Soviet foreign minister welcomed the constructive steps by the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) member countries and Indochinese states to improve bilateral and multilateral relations between them.

The Soviet side also expressed a firm intention to continue steering the line for strengthening and developing friendly ties in a variety of areas with ASEAN countries.

The USSR and the Philippines advocate a restructuring of international economic relations on a fair, equitable and democratic basis—a solution of the foreign debt problem with due account for the interests of all countries. One of the overriding tasks of our time is to narrow the widening gap between industrialized and developing states from the point of view of their social, political and economic development.

The foreign ministers confirmed their commitment to the idea of recycling funds now squandered on the arms race into the needs of economic and social advancement of, specifically, developing states.

Both sides voiced satisfaction with the outcome of the visit. Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze expressed gratitude for the warm reception accorded to him on the Philippine land.

On behalf of the Soviet Government an invitation was extended to Manglapus to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union at a suitable time, which will be agreed upon additionally. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

Further on Communique

HK2212103588 Hong Kong AFP in English 1012 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] Manila, Dec 22 (AFP)—The Philippines and the Soviet Union Thursday called for phasing out superpower military bases from Southeast Asia following global efforts to ease tensions through disarmament and U.N. mediation.

The call was made in a joint communique endorsed by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who ended Thursday a one-day visit here, and by Philippine Foreign Affairs Secretary Raul Manglapus.

The communique also said that President Corazon Aquino was planning to visit Moscow at an unspecified time.

Mr. Shevardnadze, the highest Soviet official to visit the Philippines, delivered Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's letter inviting Mrs Aquino to Moscow during talks with her and with Mr Manglapus.

The Philippines hosts the largest overseas U.S. military bases but is seeking to expand political, trade and other links with the East bloc.

U.S. Embassy officials were unavailable for comment.

Mr Shevardnadze said however after meeting with Mrs Aquino, "We have absolutely no intention of trying to drive a wedge between the Philippines and its traditional allies."

"We have had with the president a very interesting and very substantive conversation," Mr Shevardnadze said. He left for North Korea Thursday to continue an Asian swing that has taken him to Japan.

The minister briefed Mr Manglapus on Mr Gorbachev's offer in September to withdraw Soviet forces from Vietnam's Cam Ranh Bay in exchange for a U.S. pullout from Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Base, an offer Washington has rejected.

Mr Manglapus "responded positively to what he described as imaginative proposals," and accepted an invitation to visit Moscow, the communique said.

"Both sides expressed hope that the presence of foreign military facilities and forces in other states will diminish with the reduction and hopefully the elimination of military confrontation and consequently the normalization of the international situation," the communique said.

It called for the continuation of disarmament, the expansion of nuclear-free zones and an upgraded role for the United Nations in world affairs.

Senator Leticia Shahani, chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, told reporters Moscow would probably pursue the superpower phaseout issue in a meeting of Asian foreign miisters earlier proposed by the Soviet Union.

"I don't think they would just want to enter bilaterally smack into the bases. I think the larger issue is the regional," she said.

The U.S. bases' lease ends in 1991. Manila has refused to state whether it would agree to extend their stay despite pressure from Washington to discuss a new bases agreement next year. Most analysts expect an extension.

The communique cited major bilateral concerns:

—Mr Shevardnadze repeated a Soviet vow to deny support for Filipino Communists waging a nationwide guerrilla war.

—Both sides agreed to expand annual trade to 200 million dollars, five times the 1987 total, and urged international economic restructuring to help debt-saddled nations like the Philippines, which owes 28.9 billion dollars.

—Talks will be held at ambassadorial level to look into the possibility of giving Soviet development assistance to the Philippines, which gets such aid largely from Japan and the United States.

"The planned official visit of President Corazon Aquino to the USSR would contribute much to advancing the relations between the two countries," said the communique.

Mrs. Aquino said after a luncheon with Mr Shevardnadze that she planned to send Mr Manglapus to Moscow soon "and maybe they can prepare for my possible trip."

Asked if she in turn invited Mr Gorbachev to visit Manila, she said that "maybe after my visit, that would be the time for him possibly to come here. He has already sent us the foreign minister."

Mrs Aquino's deposed predecessor, Ferdinand Marcos, visited Moscow in 1976 to open diplomatic relations, which have remained low-key until now.

There has been a longstanding Soviet invitation to Mrs Aquino, who had been vague in the past about projects [word as received] of such a visit.

The communique said both sides agreed the solution of the Cambodian problem "should provide for a peaceful, sovereign and independent status for Cambodia with assurance against the probability of the restoration of the past genocidal regime."

Philippine Press Secretary Teodoro Benigno told reporters Mrs Aquino told Mr Shevardnadze that it was "very important to us so the Filipino people know, so the communist insurgency knows, the insurgents here cannot count on any support from the Soviet Union."

He said Mr Shevardnadze replied that Moscow "has never supported nor have ever any intention of talking to the (Philippine) insurgency."

Significance of Philippine Visit, Talks Noted

OW2212181788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1205 GMT 21 Dec 88

[From "The World Today" program, presented by Viktor Lyubovtsev]

[Text] Great significance is being attached in the Philippines to Comrade Shevardnadze's tour, which has just begun. THE WASHINGTON POST recently wrote that this visit was to be made at a time when Philippine Foreign Minister Manglapus is carrying out a new foreign policy actively aimed at nonalignment and greater independence from the United States. Minister Manglapus said at a Manila news conference that friendly relations with the Soviet Union do not mean that the Philippines does not intend to maintain friendly relation with the United States.

The minister let it be known that the question of expansion of mutually beneficial trade between the two countries is supposed to be on the Soviet-Philippines talks agenda.

Observer Comments on Cambodian Settlement

LD2212155588 Moscow TASS in English 1435 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 22 TASS—TASS political observer Mikhail Yakovlev writes:

Another step forward has been made in the political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. In accordance with last May's agreement between the Kampuchean and Vietnamese Governments, another 18,000 Vietnamese volunteers left Kampuchea on December 15 through 21. A total of 50,000 Vietnamese internationalist soldiers have returned home since last June. Only one fourth of the Vietnamese contingent remained in Kampuchea. Thus, Vietnam has demonstrated its good will and confirmed that it remained true to its commitment to promote in every way a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

The past ten years were a period of dramatic changes in the world where confrontation is being replaced by a dialogue, and, specifically, in the Kampuchea-related situation. It became clear that the conflict between the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the armed Khmer opposition operating from the Thai territory and receiving military and economic assistance from other countries could not be settled by military means. Acting in line with the basic interests of the Kampuchean people, the Kampuchean Government announced a year ago that it intended to pursue a national reconciliation policy aimed at uniting the whole nation and at solving the Kampuchean problem by political means. The policy created favourable conditions for holding talks with other Kampuchean forces for the purpose of taking mutually acceptable decisions.

Only first steps have been taken towards a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. There are a lot of obstacles on this way. The Kampuchean leadership maintains that the first problem to be settled is the disbandment of the Pol Pot armed group. It is an open secret that the "Khmer Rouge" continue to rely on military force. This is why the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops which is to be completed by 1990 should be linked with the prevention of the restoration of the Pol Pot regime, with the termination of military assistance to conflicting parties and of any outside interference in Kampuchea's internal affairs.

The settlement of the Kampuchea-related situation is an acute problem. The Soviet Union believes that there is a basis for bringing the solution of this problem to a final stage. Prime Minister Hun Sen of Kampuchea met with Norodom Sihanouk, representatives of four Khmer groups met in Bogor, Indonesia, and a meeting of Hun Sen, Sihanouk and Son Sann was held. A working group was created in Jakarta and a working commission was set up in Paris for continuing the dialogue.

The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China expressed interest in the early, just and rational settlement of this regional conflict. According to Hun Sen, Kampuchea's and China's approaches to the problem are getting closer: China agreed that the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops should be linked with the termination of military assistance to the "Khmer Rouge." Many South East Asian nations, the U.S. and other Western countries recognize the need for preventing the return to power of the Pol Pot regime. Many countries favour a Chinese-Vietnamese dialogue on international aspects of the Kampuchean problem.

New political thinking should get an upper hand in the solution of the Kampuchean problem, because this meets the interests of the Kampuchean people and peoples of neighbouring countries and will promote the improvement of the situation in South-East Asia and the world in general.

Soviet Land Leased to Vietnamese Peasants

BK2012080388 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 2300 GMT 14 Dec 88

[Text] According to TASS, on 13 December, in the city of (Patiyansk) in the Far Eastern region of the Soviet Union, representatives of the agricultural services of Haiphong and (Patiyansk) signed an agreement on strengthening relations of cooperation between peasants of the two localities.

Under the agreement, the (Kanzasky) solkhoz, near (Patiyansk), will lease 80 hectares of farmland to 50 Haiphong peasants from April 1989 for vegetable cultivation. This new form of cooperation will help provide employment for Haiphong peasants and increase the supply of farm produce to the Soviet side. Haiphong is committed to delivering 1,400 kg of vegetables to (Patiyansk) and has the right to sell any surplus on the market in the USSR Far Eastern region or to any other sovkhoz. If this experiment proves successful, the relations between peasants of the two countries will be broadened.

Near East & South Asia

State of Afghan Government, Military Viewed

PM2212181188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Political observer A. Bovin article: "Afghanistan: A Difficult Decade"]

[Text] For 2 weeks in November I was sent on assignment to Afghanistan. In addition to Kabul, I also went to Herat, Mazar-e Sharif, and Hayraton. I conversed with the Republic's president and prime minister, with ministers, governors, and generals, with members of parliament and academics, and as well as with Soviet comrades—journalists, diplomats, military men, and specialists.

I flew to Afghanistan with a heavy heart. Judging by the information I possessed, the situation in the country was becoming increasingly critical. The same old "damned" questions kept crossing my mind. Why was it that the people who took power in April 1978 failed to make use of it and, by enlisting the support of the people and the peasants, pull Afghanistan out of its backwardness and restructure society on new and fair principles? Why was it that the huge and all-around assistance from the Soviet Union, including the sending of an army of 100,000 men, failed to produce the consolidation and stabilization of the post-April political regime? Is it possible, is there still time to halt the wave of counterrevolution, find compromises between the different sociopolitical forces, and create transitional, interim forms of power?

Books will be written sometime in the future, and many books will give an exhaustive reply to these and other similar questions. It is well known, however, that Minerva's owl takes flight at midnight [meaning: wisdom only comes in the fullness of time]. Readers are unwilling to wait that long. This is why we journalists have to take risks, we have to express opinions and make assessments on the basis of a far from complete bank of initial data. Of course, the dozens of conversations I had in Afghanistan provided abundant food for thought. But this material was fragmentary, subjective, and often flavored with sizable sprinklings of hypocrisy and demagoguery. Nevertheless, I will take the risk.

One can understand the good intentions of those who carried out the April 1978 military coup. But the good intentions were blocked by the euphoria, the dogmatic and vulgar interpretation of Marxism, and the detachment from reality which followed the seizure of power. The essentially socialist slogans proclaimed by the

country's new leaders and the attempts to skip democratic stages of development were totally divorced from reality, and these immediately and sharply narrowed the PDPA's social mainstay. The persecution of religion, the scornful attitude toward tribal traditions, the hasty nationalization of many medium and small enterprises; the mass repressions that claimed as victims the Islamic clergy, the intelligentsia, and entrepreneurs; and the monopolization of power by a narrow clique in the party apparatus—all these prevented the military coup from acquiring the features of a social revolution, hindered the spread of the new power beyond the limits of Kabul and larger cities, and alienated the peasant masses from the party and the state.

The situation was aggravated by acute and bloody clashes within the PDPA. After splitting into two factions—"Khalq" and "Parcham," which treated each other with suspicion and ill-will—the ruling party started exterminating itself. Initially the "Khalqists" persecuted, arrested, and executed the "Parchamists." Later on, following Amin's removal, the "Parchamists" had their admittedly almost bloodless revenge and pushed the "Khalqists" back into a secondary or even lesser role. In both cases, the overall result was a weakening of the party (and correspondingly of state organs and the Army), a decline of its influence, and the alienation of the masses from the new power.

By the end of 1979 civil war had spread to a sizable part of the country.

I am deliberately not emphasizing the role played by external counterrevolution. This is a well-elaborated topic, especially in the propaganda context. Outside interference in Afghanistan's affairs did play a significant and fateful role. Nevertheless, the main reasons why the peasants took up arms and joined the counterrevolutionaries were not external but rather domestic by nature.

In the early eighties Kabul's policy became more realistic, more balanced, and more in line with society's actual needs. Mass repressions and open clashes between intraparty groupings were ended. The innovations that transformed the peasants' lives (land reform, eradication of illiteracy, creation of a medical services network, and so on) were coupled with respect for the people's centuries-old traditions and customs. But the party and state apparatus, which was fast acquiring a bureaucratic crust, failed to gain the trust of the masses. It proved impossible to halt the flywheel of antigovernment actions. In fact, it gradually started to gather pace.

This is perhaps the most appropriate point to speak about the introduction of our troops which occurred in December 1979. I have no information about the specific guidelines the CPSU Central Committee Politburo followed when making that decision. It is only possible to guess at the two main motives. First, to help a friendly regime in its struggle against outside interference, which was perceived as the main destabilizing force. Second, to prevent what was seen as a perfectly possible U.S. military presence in a region that we considered to be so sensitive. It was evidently assumed that the tasks would be accomplished in a short period of time, after which the Soviet troops would withdraw. It was, moreover, emphasized that the USSR's action had been taken solely at the Afghan Government's request.

An exceptional decision under exceptional circumstances—this, more or less, was the way the issue was presented. I personally was convinced by it. At that time I perceived the introduction of troops as an inevitable evil which would produce the maximum effect with minimum losses.

But events turned altogether differently. Despite our intentions, we found ourselves involved in an exhausting civil war. The intention was to fire at the "external counterrevolution," but our bullets hit the Afghan peasantry. Initially the Soviet military presence served as a tonic to the new power, consolidated it, and helped the recreation of the Afghan Armed Forces, but on the whole and taking a broad look at everything, the effect of the presence of Soviet troops and their participation in combat operations was negative. We ourselves presented the counterrevolution with powerful means to influence mass awareness: Foreign interference engendered patriotism; the arrival of "infidels" set religious intolerance in motion. Against such a background, even a draw would have been a miracle.

There was no miracle....

Approximately from the mid-eighties Kabul embarked on the course of the policy of national reconciliation. The question was raised of the need to involve all social groups and strata willing to cooperate "as equals" with the PDPA in the exercise of political power. Under this slogan parliamentary elections were held and the government was reorganized.

One of the conditions of the implementation of the policy of national reconciliation was the withdrawal of Soviet forces, a condition which was essential but not sufficient on its own. This meant that if we did not withdraw, then there would be no reconciliation; and that if we did withdraw, then reconciliation might or might not take place.

This is the situation at the end of 1988, as far as I can understand.

The withdrawal of Soviet forces is not being accompanied by a strengthening of stability in the country. The mujahidin have virtually ceased attacking Soviet subunits, but in all other spheres the armed opposition is stepping up its efforts. The Geneva accords have failed to stem the flow of arms, munitions, and military hardware to the armed opposition. Nor have they put an end to the formation and training of ever new detachments of

insurgents on Pakistani territory. Sensing the strength of their "rear services," most of the insurgent leaders reject the very possibility of a compromise with the present regime and a coalition with the PDPA.

This situation is further complicated by the differences prevailing inside the party itself. It is not so much a clash of different political stances as of personal ambitions and group passions. A considerable number of party members are politically inert and have essentially withdrawn from the struggle. All this cannot but affect the prestige of the PDPA, and it is hampering the consistent implementation of the policy of national reconciliation.

The implementation of this policy is further hampered by the inability to back it up wherever necessary with strength—military strength. The combat capability and moral and political state of the Republic's Army leave something to be desired. The population is evading military service, and desertion is common. There are not enough cadres capable of handling modern military equipment.

In trying to explain the prevailing situation, my Afghan interlocutors kept referring to the "policy of reliance on support." That is to say, they have become used to relying on our support, having the Soviet Army at their side, and using the services of the huge detachment of military advisers. And in the end, the Afghans began to find it difficult to make decisions on their own, to act independently, to rely on their own forces. And this is particularly obvious now.

I had the impression that many of those with whom I spoke did not entirely believe, do not want to, and cannot believe that the Soviet servicemen are going away, that they will be gone.

Yet, as I understand it, it is necessary to go. There is still some time before 15 February. Not much, but some time nonetheless. And as far as I understand, the Soviet Government has decided to make use of this time in order to intensify to the utmost political efforts and negotiations in all possible spheres.

At the beginning of December talks with Professor Rabbani, the chairman of the "Peshawar Seven," were already held in Saudi Arabia. It was agreed to continue the dialogue, and it appears that talks with the Pakistani leadership are also in the offing. True, B. Bhutto has little freedom so far. But it is to be hoped that Islamabad's policy will become more balanced. An agreement with "field commanders" operating on Afghan territory could also be of great significance. We and the Afghans are conducting talks with them.

Both Kabul and Moscow favor active UN participation in the political settlement of Afghan affairs. Speaking at the United Nations, M.S. Gorbachev proposed that a cease-fire be introduced throughout the territory of Afghanistan from 1 January 1989, and that arms deliveries to all warring parties be stopped at the same time. The Peshawar leaders hastened to reject this proposal. However, its political potential continues working. It cannot be ruled out that consultations with Washington may come up with some mutually acceptable option.

In general, everything possible is being done to facilitate the creation of a government coalition and to ensure a relatively smooth and painless evolution or transformation of the present regime. Unfortunately, this process is rather far gone, and political therapy is by no means all powerful.

The 1978 April Revolution has not attained victory. However, these words do not exhaust the results of the past decade. This, for instance, is what I heard at the Afghan Academy of Sciences. True, the revolution has fallen victim to mistakes—both ours and yours. But is it really just a question of mistakes? What happened in Afghanistan is probably a logical result of the backwardness of its society. Does this mean that April 1978 was pointless? Not at all. The post-April decade, filled with dramatic events, was not futile. Paying a very high price, Afghanistan found itself in a new historical orbit and plunged into a new atmosphere. It has stopped being the backyard of Asia. Finding itself one the focuses of international politics, the country resolutely shook off its semifeudal slumber. Both the revolution and the counterrevolution mobilized the people. Both the revolution and the counterrevolution awakened the political consciousness of the masses. The near future is not clear-cut. Passions are running too high, and excesses, flare-ups, and violence cannot be ruled out. However, my interlocutor repeated, a return to the patriarchal system, stagnation, and poverty is barred. Afghanistan will not flee into the past. Rather, it will seek to find its bearings in the present and in the future....

Against the backdrop of current political events, which cannot but affect journalists, too, this statement sounded too optimistic. But then I thought: History has ultimately always corrected politicians' mistakes.

Pakistani Stand on Afghan Settlement Condemned

LD2312061988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1546 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, 22 Dec—TASS observer Valeriy Vavilov writes:

Kabul's proposal to convene an international conference on the neutrality and demilitarization of Afghanistan under the aegis of the United Nations is rejected in a letter sent to the United Nations by Sahabzada Yaqub Khan, the foreign minister of the new Pakistani Government. He considers this proposal to have an alleged "propagandist nature", and one which "does not facilitate progress in the matter of an all-embracing settlement to the situation in Afghanistan."

But surely this proposal by Kabul, a proposal which is supported by Moscow and Delhi, has, within the framework of a general settlement to the Afghan conflict, opened up reliable prospects for ensuring peace and tranquillity in this region of Asia. Its implementation would serve as a boost to national accord and the creation of a coalition government on the broadest basis.

Kabul and Moscow have opened the door to the speediest political settlement to the Afghan conflict. Both Washington and Islamabad would be able to play their own part in this process. Absolutely specific proposals have been submitted on a cease-fire, an end to arms supplies to the warring countries, and the transfer of a contingent of UN forces to Afghanistan. Leaders of the "Peshawar Seven" and the "Alliance of Eight" in Iran have both been invited to take part in the talks. The Soviet Union's first contacts with them have already taken place, and it is proposed that they continue.

But what about Islamabad? It now appears that Pakistan's position on the Afghan question has not altered substantially under the new leadership. Is this not what is indicated by the letter circulated at the United Nations by the leader of the Pakistani foreign policy department, who was in charge of foreign policy even under the previous ruler of Pakistan?

Kabul's positive proposals are being rejected in Islamabad. But does the new government perhaps have some plan of its own for a settlement of the conflict? There is no sign of one yet. The statements by the new leaders are confined to assurances of Pakistan's adherance to the Geneva accords, but in fact, the policy of support for the armed opposition continues as before. Arms from the United States and other Western countries continue to reach the Afghan mujahidin via Pakistan. And these arms, not without help from Pakistani and other instructors, bring death to the peaceful population and destruction to Afghan towns and villages.

Islamabad is expressing its adherance to the idea of creating a government on a broad basis, but clearly it would like to see in this government only persons from the "Alliance of Seven" who are to its liking. However, even THE NEW YORK TIMES admits that this "alliance is not prepared to provide Afghanistan with the leadership that it requires."

And so, Islamabad is moving away from practical steps toward a political settlement, and it is rejecting everything constructive that the other side proposes without proposing anything itself. Such a position can only lead to a protraction of the conflict and, consequently, to a continuation of the senseless bloodshed.

UAE Envoy Presents Credentials to Lukyanov

LD2212140188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] Today at the Kremlin, UAE Ambassador Nasir Sulayman al-'Abbudi presented his credentials to Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The ambassador stated his intention to strengthen and develop relations with the USSR for the good of our peoples and in the interests of consolidating peace and security.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Agreement on Namibia Signed at United Nations

LD2212163788 Moscow TASS in English 1546 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] New York December 22 TASS—A tripartite agreement between Angola, Cuba and South Africa and a bilateral agreement between Angola and Cuba on a settlement in south-west Africa were signed at the United Nations headquarters on Thursday.

The agreements aim to ensure conditions to implement the U.N. Security Council's Resolution 435 on granting independence to Namibia.

The international community expects their signature to put in motion the resolution of one of the most protracted regional conflicts. A new state—Namibia—should appear on the political map of the world in the not so distant future.

Gorbachev Welcomes Agreement

LD2212203888 Moscow TASS in English 1953 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 22 TASS—The signing of agreements on a settlement of the conflict in the south-west of Africa in New York as a result of long and intensive negotiations has been welcomed in the Soviet Union.

"This event is of historic significance and a breakthrough in the cause of resolving the conflict in the south of Africa—one of acute regional conflicts," emphasised Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. He sent messages to Angolan leader Jose Eduardos dos Santos, Cuban leader Fidel Castro, as well as Sam Nujoma, president of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO).

"The successful completion of the talks became possible due to the changed climate in international relations. A desire to solve politically even the most complex issues on the basis of a balance of interests becomes increasingly characteristic of the new climate," says, in particular, a message addressed to the Angolan leader.

The message points out that the relations of friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and Angola vividly manifested themselves in the years which were hard to Angola, and expresses hope for further strengthening and refinement of these relations.

A message addressed to Fidel Castro emphasises that "this first but very important step towards peace and security in the Southern African region became possible due to Cuba's years-long and heroic assistance in Angola's struggle for independence and freedom."

Mikhail Gorbachev specially pointed out Cuba's dynamic diplomatic activities and Fidel Castro's personal efforts that made it possible to achieve a political solution to the acutest regional conflict. "As a result, a prospect of peaceful development and of a strengthening of the political and economic independence of the states situated in the region is opening up before the south west of Africa."

A message to SWAPO President Sam Nujoma, Mikhail Gorbachev emphasised that "thereby an important step has been made towards Namibia's independence—the lofty goal which the SWAPO-led Namibian patriots courageously fight for." The message points out with satisfaction the constructive contribution made by the SWAPO and personally by Sam Nujoma to reaching the agreement. "The Soviet Union will continue invariably to side with the just cause of the people of Namibia."

A message sent by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz points out the constructive mediatory role which the United States played in the talks on a settlement of the conflict in the southwest of Africa.

"This became possible due to the equitable dialogue between all the participants who displayed political realism and will for achieving mutually acceptable solutions on the basis of a balance of interests of the parties involved in the conflict. There is no doubt that the achievement of the positive result was promoted by the overall improvement of the international climate and by growing mutual understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union," the Soviet foreign minister's message says.

The message conveys hope that the Soviet Union and the United States will be able to draw on the cooperation experience, gained in the cause of settling the conflict in the southwest of Africa, in resolving other regional conflicts.

Adamishin Expresses 'Satisfaction'

LD2312055688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1719 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Excerpts] New York, 22 Dec (TASS)—The signing of a tripartite agreement between Angola, Cuba, and the RSA, and a bilateral agreement between Angola and Cuba on a settlement to the situation in southwest Africa, took place at the UN Headquarters today in the hall of its Economic and Social Council. [passage omitted]

"The successful conclusion of long and difficult negotiations on a settlement in southwest Africa has been received with satisfaction in the Soviet Union," stated Anatoliy Adamishin, the USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs. "It strengthens the conviction that even the most complex questions can be solved by political means. The present world situation in general is changing fairly quickly, and what's more, for the better. Probably no one would deny that the positive moves that have come about in southwest Africa are closely linked with these changes. It is just as clear that these changes themselves have come about largely through the new political thinking that the Soviet Union has introduced into international politics.

"On this notable day I would like to single out the contribution made to the settlement by Angola and Cuba, their flexible foreign policy and their dynamic diplomatic activity. The United States has played a constructive mediatory role during the course of the talks, he said. The growth in mutual understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union helped to achieve a positive result. I would like to hope that the mutual understanding that has been established between the USSR and the United States will be used in order to facilitate a settlement to other regional conflicts, and not to seek a solution for other people. One cannot help but note as well the spirit of realism shown by the RSA Government, but the main thing is to express the hope that it will continue in the future. The significance of the UN's work in settling regional conflicts has again been reaffirmed. It is now a matter of irreproachably fulfilling the agreement and adhering strictly to its spirit and letter.

"For its part, the Soviet Union is prepared to continue, with all the authority of its own policy, and by specific practical steps, to promote the establishment of peace and tranquillity in this region on the basis of respect for the inalienable rights of all the peoples who live there, and first and foremost the right to a free choice of the path of their own development." [passage omitted]

Nationalities Chairman Meets Ethiopian Delegation

PM2112145388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 20 December A.E. Voss, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Soviet of Nationalities, met with a delegation from the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia National Assembly headed by Debela Dinsa, vice president of the State Council, which has come to our country on an official visit at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The guests were told about restructuring, the reform of the political system, the development of democratization and glasnost, the structure and transformations in

supreme and local organs of power, and the implementation of the nationalities policy. The important role of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference in intensifying these processes was noted.

The interlocutors exchanged information on the activity of the parliaments of the two countries and the consolidation of contacts between them. The sides expressed the conviction that the delegation's visit will serve to further strengthen relations between the two countries and will fill them with new content.

USSR Supreme Soviet deputies Ye.I. Perventsev and L.P. Shurygina and other officials, and also Asrat Wolde, Ethiopian ambassador to the Soviet Union, took part in the talk.

On the same day the delegation visited the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and laid a wreath. A wreath was also laid at the tomb of the unknown soldier at the Kremlin wall.

Congo Labor Party Delegation Ends Visit

PM2212160388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] In accordance with the plan for party ties between the CPSU and the Congolese Labor Party, a Congolese Labor Party delegation led by E. Okombi [name as transliterated], member of the Congolese Labor Party Central Committee, was in the Soviet Union 9 through 21 December. The guests from the Congo acquainted themselves with the CPSU's activity on restructuring party work and democratizing intraparty life. The delegation had meetings at the CPSU Central Committee International Department and the Department of Party Building and Cadre Work, the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, and the USSR People's Control Committee, and went on trips to Kiev and Lvov.

East Europe

Hungarian Army Official Discusses Troop Cuts

PM2312100088 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Major General Egon Szabo, first deputy chief of the Hungarian People's Army Main Political Directorate, by own correspondent B. Rodionov in Budapest under the rubric "Facts, Events, Opinions": "General Egon Szabo: It Is Up to the West"; date not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The Soviet Union's decision, announced by M.S. Gorbachev, on a unilateral reduction in armed forces was greeted with special interest in Hungary—one of the countries from which Soviet troops will be partially withdrawn. B. Rodionov, IZVESTIYA's own correspondent in Budapest, talks with Major General Egon Szabo, first deputy chief of the Hungarian People's Army Main Political Directorate.

[Rodionov] What significance do you, Comrade General, attach to the new Soviet initiative?

[Szabo] Exceptionally great significance. For many years the West has been talking about asymmetries, about the Warsaw Pact's superiority, real or imaginary, in various types of arms. Talks were marking time. But now the Soviet Union, by agreement with the other Warsaw Pact member states, has taken a bold practical step to break the deadlock, and unilaterally at that. It is proving in a practical way that asymmetry can be eliminated not only by increasing, but also by reducing the quantitative volume of arms and armed forces. The West is losing its favorite argument about the "Soviet threat." We, the Hungarian military, note with satisfaction that the diplomatic offensive by the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact Organization continues. The ball, as sportsmen say, is in the adversary's half. The world is waiting for responding "shots at goal" from the United States and NATO.

[Rodionov] On his return from Sofia after the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee session, Hungarian Defense Minister Colonel General F. Karpati told a NEPSZABADSAG correspondent that the subunits of Soviet troops scheduled for withdrawal from Hungary will begin to leave its territory in the first half of the declared 2-year term....

[Szabo] Talks are in progress about this. But I would like to stress another point: The only reason for the temporary presence of Soviet troops on Hungarian soil was and is to maintain the equilibrium of forces between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. The forthcoming unilateral withdrawal of some of the Soviet troops will be carried out in the light of Hungary's wishes and at the same time within the limits of necessary defense sufficiency.

[Rodionov] It is well known that a Hungarian national military doctrine is being drafted....

[Szabo] Yes, it is being drafted. Its outlines are defined by the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact countries, which is purely defensive in nature and at the same time provides for a fitting rebuff for a possible aggressor and the joint defense of the gains of socialism. But this does not mean that in the hypothetical event of an attack on Hungary our allies would have to rebuff it, instead of us Hungarians. The Hungarian People's Army should effectively maintain its own combat capability and mobilize internal reserves in the training and preparation of personnel. Hungarian military doctrine will take into account the particular features of the country's geopolitical situation, for instance the fact that we have neither land nor sea borders with NATO countries, as well as the real possibilities of our economic potential and the

limited nature of the country's human resources. Next year the whole range of questions of military building will be examined by the MSZMP Central Committee.

[Rodionov] Is a reduction in the numerical strength of the Hungarian People's Army proposed?

[Szabo] As our defense minister has stated, that will depend on progress at the talks on the reduction of conventional arms and armed forces in Europe.

[Rodionov] Will the Hungarian People's Army occupy the military camps left behind by the Soviet servicemen?

[Szabo] It is still too early to say. Some of the facilities will probably be handed over for civilian needs.

[Rodionov] The economic difficulties Hungary is experiencing have made a cut in the country's military budget inevitable. How will the partial withdrawal of Soviet troops affect this?

[Szabo] All the expenditure on maintaining the Soviet troops is borne by the Soviet Union, so Hungary's budget will gain nothing from their reduction.

[Rodionov] The lessening of international tension makes it possible for Hungary now to change the draft procedure for compulsory military service, in particular for students.

[Szabo] True, instead of carrying out their service before the start of their studies, students due for military service will attend short training courses after sitting their entrance examinations, and will take the oath, but will be drafted after receiving their diploma, taking into account the speciality they have acquired, and moreover, for only 1 year.

[Rodionov] And a last question about the main topic of our conversation. How will the Soviet servicemen who are returning home be sent off?

[Szabo] We have no "scenario" as yet, but I am sure the sendoff will be warm and friendly even without any "scenario," and not only on the part of their Hungarian comrades in arms. The civilian population, who, let us be frank, are sometimes annoyed by the thunder of tanks or combat aircraft, will certainly remember with gratitude the Soviet servicemen's selfless assistance in gathering the harvest and in times of natural disasters—floods, earthquakes, avalanches. The people of Hungary wish the Soviet officers and men a happy return to the Motherland, to their homes.

Honecker Makes Statement on Troop Reductions

LD2312112888 Moscow TASS in English 1115 GMT 23 Dec 88

[Text] Berlin December 23 TASS—The Soviet Union's decision to unilaterally cut its armed forces by 500,000 officers and men as well as the withdrawal of 5,000 tanks and 50,000 troops from the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and Czechslovakia, which has been agreed with the allies and announced by Mikhail Gorbachev in the United Nations, is further evidence of how seriously and resolutely it is following the path of disarmament and detente in close unity with the other Warsaw Treaty members.

A statement to this effect has been made by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the Council of State of the GDR.

He was speaking in a meeting here with the Secretariat of the Central Council of the Union of Free German Youth.

An active participant in working out the Warsaw Treaty countries' peace program, the GDR will continue doing everything possible to carry on the process of disarmament and nascent positive trends in international relations, its leader said.

Honecker added that this country, aware of its responsibility in the heart of Europe on a dividing line between the two most powerful military alliances, will keep making initiatives to strengthen peace and the forces of reason and realism.

Zaykov Meets With Visiting East Berlin Official

LD2212124288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] Today Comrade Zaykov met Comrade Schabowski, member of the Politburo, secretary of the SED Central Committee, and first secretary of Berlin district party committee, who is in Moscow leading a delegation from the GDR capital. There was an exchange of opinion on prospects for further expanding cooperation of the two capitals, including on plans for holding traditional Berlin Days in Moscow next summer.

ADN Reports on Meeting

LD2212210888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1711 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—The new proposals from the USSR on a dynamic disarmament process are renewed proof of the agreed constructive policy of the socialist fraternal countries. This was stressed by SED Politburo member Guenter Schabowski, first secrertary of the SED Berlin Bezirk organization, and by CPSU Politburo member Lev Zaykov, first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom in the Soviet capital today. Taking the agreements between Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev

as the starting point, they affirmed the firm links between the two parties and peoples in the struggle for the strengthening of socialism, which is expressed in the consistent realization of the unity of economic and social policy in the GDR, and restructuring in the Soviet Union.

Schabowski expressed the deep sympathy of the citizens of Berlin, and the entire GDR, for the Armenian people sorely afflicted by the serious earthquake catastrophe.

At the center of the comprehensive exchange of experience in the Moscow Gorkom were questions of practical party work to realize the decisions of the 11th SED Congress and the 27th CPSU Congress. The partners in the talks praised the high state of fraternal links and cooperation between the two parties and peoples, of which the multifaceted relations between the enterprises, scientific establishments, and social organizations in Berlin and Moscow are a convincing expression. The Berlin Days taking place in the coming year in Moscow will be a further contribution to this in the GDR'S 40th year.

Scientific, Technical Ties With Poland Examined

PM2212152988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conversation at the State Committee for Science and Technology"]

[Text] On 19 and 20 December talks took place between B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, and Z. Grabowski, first deputy chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers Committee for Science and Technical Progress and minister for scientific and technical progress. The state and prospects for scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and Poland were examined.

Trade, Payments Protocol With Poland Signed

PM2212164388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Protocol Signed"]

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Dec—A Soviet-Polish protocol on trade and payments for 1989 was signed in Warsaw today. A report published here notes that Poland still holds an important place in the Soviet Union's foreign economic ties and the USSR is still Poland's main trade partner.

Reciprocal deliveries of modern metalworking and forging and pressing equipment, geological exploration and mining equipment, communications and computer equipment, and automobile construction products will be increased in 1989.

Talks Held on Machine-Building Ties With CSSR

PM2212143788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Development of Cooperation"]

[Text] K. Julis, deputy premier of the Czechoslovak Government, paid a working visit to Moscow 19-21 December and had talks with I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on questions of Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation in the sphere of machine building in the light of the accords on ensuring the long-term further development of this cooperation, reached during the meetings between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and M. Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Measures aimed at the development of production sharing and specialization in machine-building production, and the active application of new forms of cooperation based on the mutual interest of the two countries' enterprises and organizations, were outlined.

The state of and prospects for cooperation on a number of specific projects were examined.

West Europe

EC Agriculture Officials Hold Moscow Talks

PM2212111888 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 21 Dec 88 p 2

[Report by Ye. Petrakov: "Meeting at Union Kolkhoz Council"]

[Text] A delegation of the Committee of Agricultural Organizations in the EEC (COPA) headed by Joseph Iverno [name as transliterated], its president, which is visiting our country, has met with I.I. Kukhar, chairman of the Union Kolkhoz Council. A.I. Iyevlev, first deputy chairman of the USSR Agroprom and USSR minister, and other senior officials took part in the talks.

The USSR Gosagroprom representatives provided information on the work being carried out to develop agricultural production, foreign economic ties, and new forms of commercial and economic cooperation. The COPA delegation expounded the basic tenets of the committee's activity as part of the EEC's common agricultural policy. The conversation was held in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and joint commitment.

The participants in the talks discussed the possibility of carrying out systematic cooperation between the two organizations. The preparation and the signing of a protocol on cooperation between the Union Kolkhoz Council and the COPA in 1989 are being planned. To this end the COPA has invited representatives of the Union Kolkhoz Council to visit Belgium next year.

Bundestag Delegation Meets Soviet Germans
LD2212163188 Hamburg DPA in German 1543 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—For the first time ever, a Bundestag delegation has had an opportunity to speak with representatives of the Soviet German minority in the Soviet Central Asian Republics of Kazakhstan and Kirghizia. "We won't press anyone to emigrate, but will welcome anyone who comes," the delegation spokesman, Karsten Voigt, said in Moscow today at the end of the 5-day trip. The visit by five members of the SPD Bundestag group was arranged through an agreement between the SPD and the CPSU. The deputies visited the cities of Alma-Ata and Tselinograd, as well as Frunze, all places with a particularly high proportion of German-speaking people.

In talks between representatives of the CPSU Central Committees and the deputies on an autonomous region of Soviet Germans, the Soviet representatives had kept open "all the possibilities." The reestablishment of an autonomous republic of Soviet Germans on the Volga, as well as the possibility of autonomous districts or areas in Central Asia, would be discussed. "The main concern of the Soviet Germans is the preservation of German schools and the revival of German culture," Voigt said.

In talks in enterprises and newspaper editorial offices and with government representatives of the Central Asian republics and individuals a desire for more contacts with the Federal Republic was expressed. They want sister city agreements and contacts between universities and schools. Staff of the two German-speaking newspapers NEUES LEBEN and FREUNDSCHAFT were very much interested in seeing at first hand the work of the FRG media, but, according to Voigt, were encountering organizational difficulties in the Federal Republic.

Delegation Leaves for Madagascar, Mauritius
PM1312150988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 11 December a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by G. Pallayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, left Moscow for Antananarivo on an official visit at the invitation of Madagascar's Popular National Assembly.

The deputies will also visit Mauritius.

The delegation arrived in the Malagasy capital the same day. It was met at the airport by Amidu [name as transliterated], deputy speaker of the republic's Popular National Assembly, and other officials.

Political & Social

Churbanov, Others Enter 'Not Guilty' Plea

LD2212174788 Moscow World Service in English 1700 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] The last word was given to the accused at the current trial in Moscow over nine former high officials of the Interior Ministry charged with bribery and abuse of office. Former Deputy Interior Minister Yuriy Churbanov, Brezhnev's son-in-law, pleaded not guilty to accepting large bribes. Several other former officials on trial followed his example and pointed to certain alleviating circumstances.

The prosecutor had requested a 15-year prison term for Churbanov and the former Uzbek Interior Minister Khaydar Yakhyayev and shorter prison terms for the rest; all with confiscation of property. The sentence is to be passed in several days.

KGB Party Conference Finds Glasnost Helpful

PM2212183788 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 52, 24-30 Dec 88 (Signed to Press 22 Dec 88) pp 6, 7

[Unattributed report under the rubric "The USSR KGB Reports and Comments": "The Ideas of Restructuring Translated Into Practical Deeds"]

[Text] The 21st USSR KGB Party Conference was held 17 December.

The problems of restructuring the activity of Cheka organs' party organizations underlay the keynote report by KGB Party Committee Secretary N.I. Nazarov and the speeches by USSR KGB Chairman V.A. Kryuchkov and other Communists.

It was noted at the conference that the scale and complexity of the tasks set by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference have demanded a new approach to the safeguarding of state security.

"The question we have to answer is: Are the forms, methods, and content of Cheka activity in line with the present historical moment and the conditions in which we have to work?" conference participants said.

There was a confidently expressed idea: Democracy and glasnost create conditions for raising the level of state security organs' activity and consolidating their ties with the working people. They help in revealing to the utmost the creative, intellectual, and professional potential of staffers and in finding the best possible ways to work. The recently conducted Operation "Grom" can serve as an example of new approaches to the solution of Cheka tasks. KGB staffers acted in a skillful, inventive, nonstandard, and selfless manner in a complex and unpredictable situation, when a group of criminals, having captured children as hostages, attempted to hijack an aircraft to fly them abroad. From the very beginning the KGB was assigned the task of doing everything to save the children's lives, and this task was successfully carried out. Of course, close collaboration with our other ministries and organizations was a key condition for the effectiveness of the measures which were taken.

Reliance on the broad masses of working people acquires major importance for the KGB organs' activity in the conditions of expanding democracy. KGB organs' staffers frequently visit labor collectives, address them, and do a lot to improve the forms of public participation in work on ensuring state security.

Chekists are at one with the entire Soviet people in their deeds and thoughts. They perceived as a matter of personal grief the terrible calamity which befell Armenia. Cheka collectives played an active part in eliminating the consequences of the earthquake. On the very first day the KGB dispatched to the disaster area two aircraft with tents, clothes, and medicines, and the aid multiplied severalfold shortly thereafter. Border guards were among the first to respond to the calamity and they saved many lives. From the very first moment Chekists have been and still remain with those who are clearing the obstructions.

The conference proved that the processes of restructuring are making headway with growing confidence in KGB party organizations. The preceding report and election meetings were distinguished by broad democratization in the process of forming elected party organs. As a rule, Communists nominated more candidates than there were seats. All party organizations conducted a broad discussion of candidates for the new party bureaus and studied the nomination in good time with due consideration for the opinion of party members. Some subunits adopted the practice of electing their secretaries at party bureau sessions attended by all Communists.

The conference reflected the KGB Communists' striving to persistently translate the ideas of restructuring into practical actions. For this purpose party collectives are utilizing the main weapon in their arsenal—political methods, organizational and educational work, and greater activation of the human factor. Struggle for the purity of Cheka ranks and work with cadres are one of the main avenues of restructuring. All party decisions and work on their fulfillment are geared to enhancing Communists' responsibility for the performance of their service duty to defend the revolutionary transformations of the Soviet state and society.

It is a fact that the West's special services have not curtailed their subversive activity in the face of our restructuring. On the contrary, it has in some ways become even more energetic and sophisticated, primarily in terms of the acquisition of state and military secrets. In the last few years USSR KGB organs have

exposed and instituted criminal proceedings against more than 20 dangerous agents of capitalist countries' intelligence services who had engaged in espionage.

The task of preventing the commission of especially dangerous crimes against the state and the prevention of negative phenomena remains as topical as ever for the state security organs. Socialist legality means not only norms to be obeyed but also the rigorous application of the force of the law against those who breach law and order, let alone those who raise their hands against Soviet power and its political institutions and poison people's lives.

One point is obvious in all this: Cheka work must be done in conditions of glasnost, on a democratic basis, with strictest observance of socialist legality, and relying on the full support and assistance of the working masses.

The conference also discussed mistakes and excesses of the past. No matter how onerous the truth might be at times, we must live by the truth. The Soviet state's history has been ambiguous. In parallel with the great historical gains, the period of the personality cult also produced grievous events which are a heavy burden on the Soviet people's shoulders. The mass repressions in the personality cult period, which took the lives of hundreds of thousands of totally innocent people, including Chekists, are unfortunately also part of our history. It is impossible not to declare this, because otherwise the result could be to shake the socialist state's most valuable asset—man's faith in it. The Chekists, conference participants said, should not and do not stand aside from th profound and comprehensive investigation of the question of repressions. Furthermore, they are active participants in this investigation and help to compose an objective picture.

Held in a businesslike and exacting atmosphere, the 21st USSR KGB Party Conference laid down clear-cut guidelines for the future work of state security organs' party organizations and defined new and more effective approaches in providing party-political backup for the priority tasks of deepening the restructuring of Cheka activity.

V.M. Chebrikov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Ye.F. Ivanov, chief of a sector of a CPSU Central Committee department; V.F. Chernyshov, chief of a Moscow CPSU Gorkom department; and senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee and the Moscow CPSU Gorkom took part in the work of the 21st USSR KGB Party Conference.

KOMMUNIST Article on National Security Cited

LD2312031788 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] The theoretical journal of the Soviet Communist Party KOMMUNIST has carried an article by researcher (Igor Malashenko) where he discusses certain problems related to the maintenance of national security. We bring you the main points that (Igor Malashenko) makes.

For many years we believed that in order to ensure our country's security it was enough to protect it from outside threats. We were prepared to pay any price just for the sake of achieving that. Judging from the tragic experience of our history that desire seemed to be quite natural, but we tended to overlook one thing however—economic, social, and national problems kept piling up in our society and they could eventually weaken our security, which hinges largely on the country's dynamic development.

The omnipotent administrative system that existed in this country until recently gave rise not only to bureaucratic methods of all kinds but also to a cost-oblivious approach to the national economy. Billions of rubles were invested in certain projects in this country whose social utility had never been discussed. Can we be sure, the author of the article asks, that the same cost-oblivious approach had never been practised in relation to the security maintenance?

In industry this approach led to the situation when unused production capacities worth more than R100 billion accumulated in the country. Didn't we act in keeping with the same principle when we were developing certain weapon systems? The Soviet Union's superiority in tanks, so much discussed in the West, provides one good example. Are we sure that in relation to tanks, the cost-oblivious principle hasn't played a trick with us? Compared to the Warsaw Treaty Organization, NATO has much more anti-tank weapons that are much cheaper than tanks, so was it practical for us to orient ourselves to more expensive weapons?

The after effects of the cost-oblivious period become particularly noticeable on the example of nuclear weapons. A nuclear war in Europe, no matter how limited, would be an unprecedented catastrophe for the European Continent, and not only nuclear war for that matter. There are about 200 nuclear plants on that continent, any war would turn Europe into Chernobyl's vicinities as a minimum, yet 243 units of SS-20 missiles carrying over 700 warheads were deployed in the Soviet Union's European part alone.

In our time, the maintenance of security becomes more and more a political problem, rather than military or technical. In keeping with the INF Treaty, the Soviet Union will have to eliminate more missiles than the United States, and in keeping with the treaty on the reduction of strategic weapons the United States will have to reduce more warheads than the Soviet Union. Nevertheless no damage will be done to the United States security, as none was done to the security of the Soviet Union as a result of the signing of the INF Treaty.

In a bid to maintain the country's security, the Soviet Communist Party has set out the task of orienting to the principle of reasonable sufficiency. This means that the cost-oblivious approach to the maintenance of the

country's defense capability will no longer be used. But one thing should be made clear first: when and where we practised the cost-oblivious principle in the past.

Education Congress Ends, Ryzhkov Speaks

PM2212185788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Dec 88 First Edition p 1

[N. Anisin, O. Matyatin, V. Ryashin report: "The Voices of Our Times; The All-Union Congress of Public Education Workers Concludes"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] On 22 December the all-union pedagogic council [as published] summed up the results of the discussion on how our schools are developing and in what form they will enter the century to come.

The congress was addressed by N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Taking part in the work of the concluding day of the congress were Comrades L.N. Zaykov, V.A. Medvedev, N.N. Slyunkov, A.P. Biryukova, A.I. Lukyanov, Yu.D. Maslyukov, and N.V. Talyzin. [passage omitted]

The congress heard reports on the work of the sections. Documents were adopted defining the strategy of the development of the country's public education.

TV Reports Ryzhkov Speech

LD2212233188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] The all-union congress of public education workers ended in Moscow today. Comrades Zaykov, Medvedev, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Biryukova, Lukyanov, Maslyukov, and Talyzin participated in its work.

In the morning session, the delegates continued discussion of the proposed plans for restructuring of all sections of our public education which had been prepared by scientists and the pedagogical public. [passage omitted]

Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov addressed the participants in the congress:

[Begin Ryzhkov recording] To judge by both today's speeches and the atmosphere which prevails in this hall, it is evident that a very interesting and constructive conversation is in progress, and you have conveyed to us yesterday and today, comrades, how fundamentally those matters which have come to a head in this sphere of our society's life are being discussed.

You yourselves understand that I am, to a certain extent, under the influence of the events which have happened in the Transcaucasus, in Armenia. You are well informed about that great disaster which occurred there. And the most important thing is that you are informed about what is being done there, and about how all our Soviet people and, indeed, essentially, the whole world public and the whole world community have responded to it. There have been very many critical remarks in this country recently, especially concerning the internationalist friendship of our peoples. Well now, dear comrades, evidently, it is precisely by the events which have occurred in Armenia that the friendship of the peoples of our country can truly be assessed. It is even hard to imagine what is being done in the country today. It is, truly, not some kind of friendship based on slogans or the friendship of posters, but it is that friendship, that pain which is truly the pain of all the people. When we were there, we saw and felt, literally, the breath of the whole country. We felt it in the telegrams, we felt it in the letters, and we felt it in the aid which literally rained down on that region from all corners of the country. It is precisely during that disaster that human values are truly being revealed. We saw special trains loading up with whole classes, together with their teachers and textbooks, and leaving for other regions of our country, for the Transcaucasus—the northern Causasus, to be more precise—the Stavropol region, the Kuban, Georgia, Moldavia, and the Crimea. It is even hard to imagine that those children, who had lost their parents, had lost their relations and were surrounded by such worry—is that not an uplifting of the human soul, comrades?

I want to express heartfelt gratitude to all pedagogues and teachers, to everybody who participated in the most direct way in efforts to help those people. Up to today, we have brought around 50,000 youngsters and, correspondingly, mothers with those children, out to sanatoria and rest homes in our country. [end recording]

Further on, describing the work of the congress of public education workers, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhiov said:

[Begin recording] Indeed, a very serious conversation is in progress. Very many problems have accumulated in this country. Many problems are finding solutions; appropriate decisions of both the Central Committee and the Government have been taken. But I think that, after this congress, when all the proposals which have come up here can be put into systematic form, we shall examine all these matters thoroughly. I promise that ministers and the chairmen of the councils of ministers of union republics—about which you have spoken today, comrades—will definitely address themselves to our schools and our educational establishments. [applause]

We understand how difficult your labor is. In general, I think, to work as a teacher or a pedagogue means to exercise selfless devotion. It is even difficult to imagine how hard you have to work, and we understand that it is difficult to evaluate what you do in material terms,

perhaps, to some extent. Evidently, these people can be evaluated only as a feat which they are performing in their lives. You are truly continuing those great traditions of our splendid teachers and pedagogues and our scientists, who have always been at the pinnacle of our society for many decades and centuries; and we feel that our teaching milieu, our pedagogical milieu, truly holds the stocks which were laid down in those days. I have always bowed my head before pedagogues, before teachers, because you can create whatever material values you like, but if there is not a truly educated society, then, in the first place, it is impossible to create those values and, secondly, it will be a society lacking in full value; and only an educated, intellectual society is the society which we need and the society which is worthy of our advanced socialist system.

Permit me to wish you great successes, and permit me, on behalf of the Government, to express to you heartfelt gratitude and success in your work. [applause] [end recording]

In the evening session the participants in the congress elected the all-union Council for Public Education. After detailed discussion and the insertion of amendments, the congress resolution was adopted. With this, the all-union congress of public education workers ended.

Education Chief on Reform Plans

PM2212121188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Dec 88 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Through Humanization and Democratization to a New Quality of Education. All-Union Congress of Public Education Workers"]

[Text] The young generation that will soon carry on the work of restructuring is being molded today in schools, colleges, and VUZ's. The renewal and democratization of our society and the fate of the country depend to a considerable extent on what moral values it adopts and with what vocational skills it embarks on adult life. Delegates to the All-Union Congress of Public Education Workers that opened 20 December in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses are discussing projects for the restructuring of all links of instruction and education.

The delegates and guests greeted with applause Comrades V.I. Vorotnikov, L.N. Zaykov, Ye.K. Ligachev, V.A. Medvedev, V.P. Nikonov, A.N. Yakovlev, A.P. Biryukova, A.V. Vlasov, A.I Lukyanov, G.P. Razumovskiy, N.V. Talyzin, and O.D. Baklanov.

More than 5,000 delegates representing all links of USSR public education and also delegations from fraternal socialist countries—Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the GDR, the DPRK, Cuba, Laos, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia—are taking part in the work of the congress.

Those present in the hall listened attentively to a greeting from the CPSU Central Committee to the congress. It was read by V.A. Medvedev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The congress elected leading organs.

The assembly honored the memory of those who died during the Armenian earthquake with a minute's silence.

G.A. Yagodin, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Public Education, delivered a report "Through Humanization and Democratization to a New Quality of Education."

We listened very attentively just now to the greeting from our party's Central Committee.

Our congress—the country's supreme pedagogical forum—is discussing projects for restructuring all links of public education that have been prepared by scientists and the teaching public and elaborated in the light of the general political recommendations made by the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum. We are convinced that our active and interested discussion of these questions in accordance with the spirit of the 19th party conference will be open, businesslike, and constructive.

The country's interest in the problems of education rose sharply with the coming of restructuring. The 27th CPSU Congress, which set about humanizing society, focused all our plans and concerns on man with all his questions, needs, and problems.

In his UN speech M.S. Gorbachev said: "The resolution of global problems requires a new 'volume' and 'quality' of cooperation between states and sociopolitical trends." This new quality may be ensured by increasing the peoples' culture and humanizing education. We must learn to have contacts with one another and listen to and understand our opponent's stance. This is also the task of education. Today we realize anew that our young pupils, whose future we prize dearly, must grow up as fighters for mankind's survival and for the preservation of the planet that is our common home.

In order for continuous education to become a reality man must have the necessary base and foundation on which the entire educational pyramid is based. This foundation of erudition and culture is laid at general educational schools. This is its special role, and hence our mission to improve it.

We are proposing to make substantial, revolutionary changes in the activity of our schools. These apply both to the structure and the content of secondary education. They are based on Lenin's principles for unified labor and polytechnical schooling geared to present-day realities.

Modern unified schooling is open to everyone. It is schooling united by similar aims and tasks and gives all its graduates equal rights. At the same time its unity is combined with variety of schools, flexibility of educational plans and programs, and diversity in teaching and educational methods. It combines both the national and the international within the substance of education.

The labor school actively incorporates the student into the system of socialist public relations and shapes his ability to work collectively, prudently, and economically, to set objectives, to plan and distribute time, and to ensure a high quality of work without forgetting for one minute the educative role of a student's need to work hard to master the basics of science, since the student has a responsibility to society for the quality of that work.

The polytechnical school today requires that pupils be introduced to the material culture of society and master the basics of information technology and ecology, and it requires educational material to reflect the achievements of scientific-technical and socioeconomic development.

We believe that integrated courses in literature, social sciences, and natural science that foster harmonious relations among people and between man and society and man and nature should be mandatory subjects at the final stage. At present this is only an idea. It requires detailed discussion and great work.

Secondary schools must provide all graduates with a full general education. This means that it provides the level of knowledge, labor skills, cultural development, and independent thought necessary for a young person to take an active part in the country's sociopolitical life and ensure a constant increase in professionalism and the comprehensive development of his personality.

While differentiated in accordance with pupils' individual inclinations, education is becoming varied in substance. This approach is making it possible to take society's requirements and the maximum development of every student's potential into consideration and combine them in education.

We realize that secondary education's universality lies in creating equal opportunities and the requisite conditions for every child.

Universality implies accessibility of education. This necessitates a lessening of the load.

We think that the varied substance of education enables us to authorize the transfer of pupils who have failed to obtain a certificate in certain subjects from grade to grade. However unusual this seems, it is nonetheless more honest and educational than putting "satisfactory" despite a lack of the requisite knowledge.

The problem of textbooks is very important for us. There should be many textbooks of various types. We are proposing a new procedure for selecting manuscripts and publishing textbooks. The first steps have already been taken: Parallel math and inorganic chemistry textbooks will be published next year, and by 1991 er 10 more subjects will follow.

Restructuring has raised the question of teachers with particular acuteness. We need teachers with an in-depth knowledge of their subject, a command of various methodical resources, and sound psychological and pedagogical training. But that's not enough. We need erudition, culture, a thirst for knowledge, and a desire for creativity. Every year we train 210,000 teachers on full-time courses. Nevertheless the country is constantly short of teachers; nor is everything right with the quality of the training.

The great trouble is teachers' lack of prestige and low social status. You can't get housing, you only get a travel voucher for a sanatorium once in a lifetime, you can't buy books, and there's trouble with food even in the countryside. Wages? Some 2 years have elapsed since they were raised. Once again a teacher's average wage is R197.5, yet the national average is R203. We realize that this is a difficult question, but it is unjust when a teacher's wages are less than the national average. We are economizing not on just any old thing but on the country's future!

The substance and form of teacher training need radical changes. A teacher is a central figure in the restructuring of schools.

Building a new educational system is a long and difficult process. It is essential to single out the main guideline in this great and multifaceted work. There is no doubt that the individual is the focus and main point of all the educational and instructive activity carried out by teachers and teaching collectives.

School is for the child and the teacher is for the child, not the other way round. VUZ's and professors are for students!

A man who has worked in a school or a VUZ just to earn wages cannot be a teacher. Those whom he "teaches" realize this best of all. That is why students and schoolchildren have been brought into the soviets. Their voice should be heard. We must defend the right of schoolchildren and students to have a skilled teacher.

Having made the personality of the child, the adolescent, and the youth the focus of all educational and instructive work, we must build this process in the light of his individual features.

The speaker dwelt on the problems of developing kindergartens, which must ensure a child's development—that is why educators need high-quality education.

Most parents, kindergarten teachers, teachers, and instructors waste tremendous efforts on rearing a so-called "normal child," wiping out his inquisitiveness, liveliness, and originality. This is, in effect, deliberate social selection of the most obedient, suitable, and manageable people. This means suppression of initiative, boldness, thought, and action.

So what about maybe abolishing conduct marks and compulsory reports at schools? A certificate on graduating from a secondary educational establishment should be the single most complete and objective report for a graduate. Especially since we will now be able to see, by glancing at the certificate, not only what marks the graduate received but also what subjects he chose to study. This indicates much more about him than any report.

Social and humanitarian sciences hold a most important place in shaping the individual. It is humanitarian knowledge that makes it possible to overcome technocratic and strictly specialized thinking and rear a spiritually rich individual oriented toward common human values with a developed sense of political and moral responsibility.

One cannot agree with the stance of certain Baltic VUZ's that are proposing to make the study of social sciences optional.

Humanitarian and social disciplines should not be cut, but their substance should be changed and the structure, forms, and methods of teaching them improved. There are many problems here. By putting off the resolution of these problems until "later," we are in fact depriving ourselves of opportunities to affect the formation of a Marxist-Leninist outlook in young people. Despite the vast increase in interest in the events of sociopolitical life and our history, the prestige of social science teachers is, unfortunately, not on the increase. A considerable proportion of students are not going to their lectures. Young people are particularly reluctant to accept dogmatism, overt apologetics, and the persistent repetition of truisms that are irritatingly far-removed from real social practice.

Organizing education and upbringing in isolation from ethnic culture entails thinking of students as people without families or tribes. It is most often a lack of national consciousness and unpreparedness on ethnic and cultural questions which creates a favorable basis for deformations in interethnic relations and manifestations of national egoism.

Socialist internationalism is not nonethnic. It is based on national pride, progressive juridical traditions, and respect for native languages. Many questions have risen here. For instance, USSR history textbooks still to a considerable extent remain the history of the Russian people and the Russian state system.

We resolutely support the broadening of the rights of educational establishments, local soviets, and republics to improve the teaching of ethnic culture, the history of the people, and the ethnic language. Union republics have recently thoroughly studied educational programs, particularly history and literature programs; however, the main task in this field lies ahead. In defining the substance of ethnic historical knowledge one must not go to the other extreme whereby history and literature are regarded from the stance of just one nation and the other peoples living in the republic are excluded from the historical process and even from present-day life itself.

The people's intelligentsia, and teachers in particular, play a special role in international education and in shaping the culture of interethnic relations. That is how it has always been. Today, unfortunately, not all teachers and VUZ lecturers take a responsible attitude. It has been a bitter, painful experience to see children in Nagorno-Karabakh and the Baltic region carrying slogans whose meaning they could not understand. A party meeting of lecturers at the Stepanakert Teacher Training Institute adopted a resolution on the impossibility of teaching Azerbaijanis and Armenians in the same class. You get the impression that some leaders of extremist persuasions are trying to use children as small change to whip up the situation and put pressure on authoritative bodies, , without considering the consequences.

With regard to the question of the language in which a class is taught, which has been so exacerbated lately, in this respect we are convinced that we should retain the democratic principle whereby the students themselves and their parents can have free choice. But we must also create the conditions for and give the utmost encouragement to study of the language spoken by the indigenous population of the republic by all students of other nationalities living on its territory. It is worth thinking about publishing some textbooks in which educational material is presented in two languages simultaneously.

When considering the problems of youth education, we cannot ignore informal youth associations. They have always existed: tourist groups, Timur teams [children's charity groups named for literary hero], amateur singing clubs, environmental protection groups, Cheerful and Resourceful Club groups, and so on. This is a normal phenomenon and totally necessary if people are to become socially mature. What is more, all the present "formal" organizations began life as informal ones.

Today the number of informal groups has grown considerably. This is a natural consequence of the masses' increased social activeness. What is worrying is that some of them are provocative, countercultural, out to shock society, and sometimes even aggressive.

This conflict arises mainly because modern society regards the personality as something that is realized in the distant future as far as young people are concerned—sometime in their thirties and forties. The whole of life

up to that point is seen as some sort of "preparation" for the future, is rigidly regulated, and, for that very reason, is deprived of attraction and meaning for young people.

Parents, teachers, and social organizations must do everything possible to overcome the factors causing young people to feel alienated from their families and from society.

We should decisively reject rigid methods of organizing the lives of children and teenagers, which are so typical of many teaching collectives and most families.

The content and methods of labor education should be changed. The most dangerous enemy of this education is work that is forced and useless. The work should be productive, serious, and conducive to teaching responsibility, precision, and the observance of equipment safety regulations.

Public education bodies still have plenty to do to create the necessary conditions for teaching children with mental, physical, and moral handicaps.

We are particularly concerned by the fact that, all too often, schools and teachers do their utmost to wash their hands of difficult, obstinate children to make life easier for themselves, while feigning concern for the children.

It is absolutely essential to review legislation connected with child and juvenile delinquency and also the way in which it is applied. We are alarmed by the large number of juveniles sent to special vocational and technical schools and serving sentences in colonies.

For a teacher there can be no such thing as someone else's children! Kindness, charity.... How can a person be cultivated without this, or a child's soul awakened? Recently we have been trying to protect children and ourselves from others' suffering. And the people's reserves of charity have remained unclaimed.

The tragedy in Armenia has highlighted the boundlessness of these reserves and evoked a response in every school and every academic establishment. I am not only talking about suffering others' pain. Student detachments and student doctors have been working there, on the spot, since the very beginning. Blood, money, warm clothing, underwear.... The desire to help personally, to bring help more quickly has gripped all students and teachers.

Public education also fulfills important tasks concerning military-patriotic education and young people's preparation for service in the USSR Armed Forces. We are convinced that in order to improve the quality and enhance the educational role of elementary military training in schools we need modern equipment and all manner of circles and sections for military and technical sporting activities, automobile engineering, and radio equipment. It must be as conducive as possible to physical development. An order has been signed to curtail the program of elementary military training for young women.

With regard to VUZ's, conscripting students into military service after the second year and the resulting 2-year interruption in their education are incompatible with the task of improving the quality of training.

We ardently approve of plans to reduce the country's Armed Forces by 500,000 men, announced by M.S. Gorbachev at the United Nations, and hope that this will help to rapidly resolve the problem of restoring the deferment of conscription for VUZ students.

The CPSU Central Committee February Plenum determined that vocational education must be implemented, as a rule, on the basis of a secondary general education school. The transfer to this will be gradual, as the necessary material conditions are created for it and the corresponding changes made in the public consciousness. We will retain vocational and technical education based on the second stage of the secondary school for some time. Gradually, some vocational and technical schools will be transformed into general education schools with a vocational slant. The others will become schools providing a vocation on the basis of secondary education—higher vocational schools—for training highly skilled workers and specialists in the middle range for servicing complicated automated systems, information technology, and science-intensive production units.

The main feature of these academic establishments will be the flexible reallocation of students to different forms of training. They will be given the opportunity to gain a working skill of any category. At the same time, young people showing a particular aptitude for and interest in the acquisition of theoretical knowledge will be able to undergo more complex training. This will make it possible for them, if they wish, to gain a higher education—immediately or after a period of time—in special VUZ subdivisions on a 2-3 year course.

The speaker went on to dwell on the tasks of renewing higher schools. Directions taken to restructure these schools, such as revising the nature of education, increasing the proportion of independent work, improving the forms of examination, broadening students' participation in the management of their VUZ, and developing the competitive system and the certification of teaching cadres, must be continued.

The question of closely integrating science with the teaching process, particularly in VUZ's which train specialists for new technologies and science-intensive production operations, is still a serious issue. The question of lifting the ban on scientific workers' holding more

than one position in the VUZ teaching process is being considered. This will make it possible to considerably increase their contribution to the training and education process.

The process of democratizing VUZ life is growing. The "Statute on the Higher Education Establishment" submitted for discussion to the congress moves us in this direction.

The question of raising the professional level of scientific teaching cadres is a very serious issue. The procedure for their certification must be reviewed. The current procedure is not effective enough. VUZ councils must decisively and uncompromisingly refuse further work for lecturers who have not kept pace with life and scientific developments. And the VUZ decision on this must be final.

One of the most important reasons for education's failure to keep pace with the requirements of social development is still the poor standard of its material backup.

We ardently support the ideas formulated by M.S. Gorbachev at the United Nations concerning disarmament and the conversion of the military industry for peaceful purposes. We very much hope that the economics of disarmament will fundamentally change the situation regarding the economics of education.

It goes without saying that the situation has improved since the beginning of restructuring, although there is still a very long way to go for a radical improvement in the material and technical base of academic establishments. Especially as the decisions taken on this question are not being steadily implemented.

What talk can there be of a serious change of attitude to the needs of public education if, in 1988 alone, more than R1 billion allocated by the government to build academic establishments will be irretrievably wasted on our projects through the fault of construction workers and local bodies?

According to the data from a survey conducted by the trade union central committee, more than 300,000 teachers are presently waiting for housing. One-fifth of all city teachers live in hostel accommodation and one-third of rural teachers rent shared rooms from members of the local population. In rural areas in the Ukraine and Georgia, more than half of all teachers are in this position.

The broad development of democracy and glasnost and the creation of state and public management constitute a real, paramount step toward a new type of school.

An important role belongs to the Council for Public Education elected by the congress. It consists solely of representatives of the teaching community. The members of the council have the right to make an official request of any public education body or public education worker.

The democratization of public education management requires changes in the redistribution of functions and powers among management bodies. The principle here is very simple: Everything that can be decided by the academic establishment itself must be decided by it.

We believe that the state committee must concentrate its activity on working out a strategy for the development of public education, defining its priorities, and conducting major social-pedagogical experiments and closely follow the state and dynamics of educational development, studying public opinion, statistics, data provided by state inspectors, letters, and mass media publications.

We would like to base the activity of the public education management system on new principles: not to restrict but to assist; not to prohibit but to guide; not to give commands but to lead. We would also like to create the kind of economic, legal, and organizational mechanisms that will shape the priority of development and improvement.

We are living in an amazing time. A time of hope. A time of action.

Every academic establishment and every teacher can move at their own pace along their own path. The important thing is to move forward. The important thing is to move toward our common goal. That goal is the individual. His development. His improvement. His happiness.

A discussion began at the end of the report. The congress continues work.

Medvedev at Conference on Congress Elections

PM2212170188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Dec 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Conference at CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] A conference of secretaries in charge of questions of ideological work and heads of the organizational party and cadre work departments of union republic Communist Party Central Committees and party kraykoms and obkoms and leaders of the mass media was held at the CPSU Central Committee on 21 December.

A report was delivered to the conference by G.P. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. It was stressed that the opportunity being offered to involve millions of people in the active political process must be fully taken

in the elections. It is important to ensure that the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee November (1988) Plenum are carried out, that the USSR Law "On the Election of USSR People's Deputies" is precisely and absolutely observed, that all-around use is made of the competitive mechanism of the elections, and that all the conditions necessary for a real expression of the electorate's will are created.

Forming a body of deputies capable of meeting the new tasks is the fundamental question of the election campaign. When nominating candidates it is necessary to take account of their sociopolitical experience, loyalty to the principles of socialism, disposition toward state activity, deep conviction of the need for revolutionary renewal of our society, and readiness to actively promote this. Each new day of restructuring reveals such people in all strata of society—the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and the intelligentsia—among Communists, nonparty people, young people, and women.

The forms and methods of party political work under the new conditions was covered in particular detail in the report. Preparation for the elections must provide millions of party members with a schooling in active work among the masses and mastery of the methods of persuasion and dialogue. Experience in holding elections involving multiple candidates has shown that whenever party organizations make energetic use of the democratic electoral instruments and conduct their work with openness and glasnost they win people's support and make progress in the analysis and solution of urgent problems. While, on the other hand, attempts to overformalize and overorganize the election process increasingly cause things to go wrong. Outmoded forms of agitation and propaganda work must be resolutely rejected and such work must be more closely tied in with specific problems of socioeconomic building and the solution of pressing questions posed by the population.

The following took part in discussion of the report: L.L. Savitskaya, secretary of Kemerovo CPSU Obkom; U.D. Dzhanibekov, secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee; V.M. Borisenkov, second secretary of Moscow CPSU Obkom; A.I. Korniyenko, V.A. Kazyulin, and P.V. Dogonkin, chiefs of the Organizational Party and Cadre Work Departments of the Ukrainian, Moldavian, and Uzbek Communist Party Central Committees respectively; and V.P. Orlov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission on the Election of USSR People's Deputies.

The conference was concluded by V.A. Medvedev. He stressed that the current election campaign is a quite new phenomenon in our sociopolitical life. And not just because the elections are being conducted on new principles but because the political and ideological situation in the country has radically changed. Our society is no longer what it was 2-3 years ago—what we have here is an unprecedented upsurge of public activity on the part of people, openness and glasnost in the expression of public opinion, and enormous commitment and activeness in discussing topical questions concerning our development. These are all characteristic features of our time.

The success of the upcoming work, the CPSU Central Committee secretary stressed, is determined in many respects by the content, depth, and activeness of the ideological work of party organizations, which must be carried out on a fundamentally new basis. This means not just explaining certain slogans, tasks, and appeals or popularizing particular candidates, but ideological work, in the true sense of the word, demanding in-depth, serious, businesslike presentation of arguments, conviction, heated, occasionally blunt discussion, and confrontation of opinions. All our ideological potential and best propaganda brains must be mobilized here. Party organizations must constantly have their finger on the pulse of life, respond swiftly to changes in public opinion, and constantly maintain the initiative. The mood and mentality of the masses and people's responsiveness to relaxed discussion, well-considered analysis, and competent explanation of the complex processes of restructuring must be taken into account.

The main objective of ideological work, V.A. Medvedev noted, is to deepen understanding of the party's domestic and foreign policy and the ideas of restructuring and increase support for it from the various strata of working people and the population as a whole. There is no basis, nor can there be, for smugness or indifference. As restructuring advances it simultaneously reveals more and more new problems, contradictions, and difficulties. Understanding of it requires constant deepening and persistent practical solution of emerging tasks.

Our clear party stance determined by the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference means unswerving movement along the path of restructuring, deepening of democracy, and disclosure of the advantages of socialism.

V.A. Medvedev supported the opinion of the majority of conference speakers, namely, that greater freedom in the choice of the means and forms of ideological work be given in the election period and that a single recommendation should not be foisted on everyone from above. Useful experience from past elections should, however, be taken into account.

It is important to activate the role of the mass media and, in particular, the role of the editorial offices of city and rayon newspapers and local radio broadcasting and television. The organization of speeches by candidates, television debates, and answers to questions from working people, including live broadcasts, must be extensively used to ensure that the public is thoroughly familiar with the candidates and their manifestos.

Preparation for the elections must help consolidate all forces in society in the struggle for restructuring and renewal. This, if you will, the CPSU Central Committee secretary observed, constitutes the starting and terminal points of the crucial political campaign on which we are embarking.

The following took part in the conference's work: A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; B.K. Pugo, chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee; A.S. Kapto, A.S. Pavlov, and V.I. Shimko, CPSU Central Committee department chiefs; and N.Ye. Kruchina, CPSU Central Committee administrator of affairs.

Leaders Attend Regional Report, Election Meetings

LD2312075488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 23 Dec 88

[Text] Thousands of the working people of Tataria took part in discussions on the pages of newspapers and magazines and on radio and television of the thesis of the report-back and election report of the CPSU obkom for the forthcoming party conference. Their comments and proposals have been taken into consideration in the process of preparation for the conference.

A report-back and election conference of the Communists of Tataria begins its work in Kazan today. Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, is taking part in its work.

Viktor Petrovich Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Party Central Committee, is taking part in the work of an oblast party conference in Smolensk. Yesterday he paid a visit to rayons in the oblast and met with the lease-contractors of Smolensk, visited a number of enterprises of the food and processing industries, and chatted with agricultural managers and specialists.

Vitaliy Ivanovich Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, is taking part in the work of the Chuvash Oblast Party conference in Cheboksary. And Aleksandr Vladimorivich Vlasov, candidate-member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, will take part in the work of the Kirov Oblast report-back and election conference.

A report-back and election conference of the Leningrad Oblast organization of the CPSU opens in an hour's time.

Oblast party conferences are taking place today in Minsk, Vitebsk, Gomel, Tula, Sverdlovsk, Volgograd, Kuybyshev, Dnepropetrovsk, Irkutsk, Chelyabinsk, Kurgan, Petropavlovsk- Kamchatskiy, Syktyvkar, and Yakutsk.

Kray party organizations will be opening in Krasnodar and Stavropol today. [sentence as heard]

More on Leaders at Meetings

PM2212155388 [Editorial Report] Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 December 1988 carries on page 2 under the headline "Persuasion Without Compulsion" a 1,500-word report by M. Stoyanov on an undated Kuybyshevkisy Rayon party report-and-election conference. Stoyanov ends his report thus: "I. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, took part in the conference's work."

Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 December 1988 carries on page 2 under the headline "Meeting With the Aktiv" a 100-word MOSTASS report on a meeting between A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the Cheremushkinskiy Rayon party and economic aktiv, held "on the eve" of the rayon party's report-and-election conference.

Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 December 1988 carries on pages 1 and 2 under the headline "The Right To Be in the Vanguard of Restructuring" a 7,000-word MOSTASS report on proceedings at the 17 December party report-and-election conference in Moscow's Proletarskiy Rayon. The report concludes by stating that "...Army General V.M. Shabanov, USSR deputy defense minister,... took part in the work of the conference," along with other officials.

Estonian Party Plenum Considers Upcoming Tasks

PM2212153188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Dec 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Main Task of the Day is Consolidation"]

[Text] Tallinn, 21 Dec—The results of the CPSU Central Committee November (1988) Plenum and the tasks of the republic's party organization in implementing its decisions were discussed by the participants of an Estonian Communist Party Central Committee plenum held here today.

The report was delivered by V.I. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee.

The republic party organization's chief task, it was stressed at the plenum, is to consolidate all forces on the basis of the guidelines of the 19th all-union party conference.

The plenum approved the new structure of the republic party apparatus and set up Estonian Communist Party Central Committee permanent commissions to tackle the most important problems.

Armenian Situation Stabilizing, Efforts Continue

No 'Infringements' Noted

LD2312102788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 23 Dec 88

["Feature" report by correspondent Galina Vinogradova, from the "Time, Events, People" program]

[Excerpts] [Vinogradova] Today is Friday and on this day our program always broadcasts a Ministry of Internal Affairs report on weekly crime. Here is Lieutenant Colonel Anatoliy Grigoriyevich (Anfertyev) of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs:

[(Anfertyev)] During the last week of December, 18 most serious crimes, murders, were committed in our country. Of these, seven have already been solved. There were 40 robberies of citizens' apartments, private cars, and places where money is stored. Eleven of these have been detected. Six people were detained for selling narcotics. [passage ommitted]

[Vinogradova] Anatoliy Grigoriyevich, let's also dwell on the events in Armenia and Azerbaijan. What is the current operational situation there?

[(Anfertyev)] In the Armenian SSR the Army and internal troops are protecting especially important establishments and freight that is being sent to the natural disaster regions. Infringements of the law, on the basis of international relations, have not been reported. Unsanctioned meetings and demonstrations were not held.

The situation in the Azerbaijan SSR is stabilizing. The struggle against various types of negative manifestations has been intensified. The population has voluntarily handed over 230 sporting guns. In accordance with the decree by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 23 November, 15 violators of the law have been placed in administrative detention. These are the main activists of the so-called Karabakh committee. Materials regarding all those detained have been handed over to an investigative operative group of the USSR Procuracy and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, to resolve the question of bringing them to justice. [passage omitted]

Efficient Railroad Urged

PM2312113588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "At the CPSU Central Committee Commission; Maximum Attention To Be Paid to Transport"]

[Text] The time schedule and volume of restoration work in the earthquake-stricken zone now depends to a considerable degree on transport, especially railroad transport, it was emphasized at the latest session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission held 22 December and chaired by Yu.P. Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

It was emphasized in the reports on the state of affairs over the last 24 hours that it is precisely the railroad which has now become a bottleneck hampering the whole range of measures to eliminate the consequences of the disaster.

With each passing day the stream of freight heading to Armenia from all parts of the country is increasing. Over the last 24 hours alone more than 1,400 insulated tents, more than 1,000 stoves, 140 small houses, and around 60 yurts earmarked for doctors have been delivered to villages under reconstruction.

Over the 24 hours 1,633 railroad cars were unloaded, which is 100 more than on the previous day. However, in itself this acceleration has not reduced the acuteness of the situation: In order to ease the bottlenecks in the transportation system it is essential to reach and maintain the 2,000 mark in unloading railcars and to shift the unloading work closer to the stricken zone and in particular toward Leninakan. Here, in the vicinity of Bayandur station, is where the main efforts of the transport construction workers are now concentrated; their task is to promptly organize a broad front for the acceptance of freight and to set up an efficient unloading base.

The problem of closer liaison between the railroad and road transport has become urgent. A working conference noted with concern that dispatch of the trailer homes needed for the deployment of a medical service network locally is being held up, and consequently there are also delays in setting them up on site. The commission has given instructions that all available trailers, diesel locomotives, and (pletevozy) [meaning unknown] in the republic be mobilized to deliver temporary accommodation promptly to the specified points.

The conference participants were given the latest information: Ten heavy-duty trailers are on their way to Armenia by rail. All equipment, either already on site or due to arrive, must be pooled to provide an efficient, mobile transportation system so as to speed up the delivery and installation of trailer homes as much as possible. The coordination of this work was assigned to the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers.

It was noted that hitherto there has been no stability in the operations of a number of main railroads, especially those adjacent to the earthquake-stricken zone. In particular, the Transcaucasus Railroad needs to be operating efficiently. This question must be promptly resolved by the USSR Ministry of Railways. The entire vast and steadily growing assistance being given by the country to the regions struck by the elements must be utilized without delay and in full in every sector of restoration work.

The evacuation of victims among the population is continuing. Over 92,000 persons had left the disaster zone by 22 December. More than 50,000 of them have gone to resorts in the south. They are mainly school students with their teachers, and the elderly. Some 23 Armenian schools have already been formed at sanatoriums. Because consignments of toys, gifts, children's clothing, and books are continuing to arrive in Yerevan, the commission asked journalists to publicize in various cities in the country the addresses to which consignments for children should be sent: Adler, Evpatoriya, Anapa, Gelendzhik, Odessa.

Taking part in the working conference were L.A. Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

More on Agriculture Damage

LD2212204088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] [Announcer] The earthquake in Armenia did a great deal of damage to the republic's agro-industrial complex. Here are our special correspondents, Yuriy Korotkov and Kuryun Khomaryan, from Yerevan:

[Korotkov] You have probably noticed that in our previous reports and interviews we have mainly concerned ourselves with the losses to industry and the housing stock. The damage done to the agro-industrial complex, however, is no less substantial. Today, together with a few of the [CPSU Central Committee Politburo] Commission members and representatives of the country's State Agro- Industrial Committee, we paid another visit to a number of rural areas and again saw the scale of the devastation there. This scale is so great that we simply have to mention some figures to give you a full picture of what has happened.

[Khomaryan] According to an inventory which has just been completed, 530 production facilities have been hit in 15 of the republic's rural areas. These include 209 sovkhozes, 90 kolkhozes, and 32 processing enterprises—meat combines, dairies, sugar factories, and other facilities. In all, 342 rural settlements have been affected and 58 villages totally destroyed. To some extent or other, 54,000 houses, 83 schools, 88 kindergartens, 84 polyclinics and hospitals, and 2,200 cafeterias and shops have been destroyed.

[Korotkov] Serious damage has been done to the republic's livestock farming sector as well: 24,000 cows, 50,000 sheep, and 8,000 pigs were killed; the electricity and heating mains, as well as gas and water supplies were put out of operation. And 93,000 hectares of irrigated land producing one-third of Armenia's entire farm produce have been destroyed. Preliminary estimates place the total damage to the republic's agro-industrial complex at R1.9 billion.

[Khomaryan] Of course, since the earthquake some things have already been done to normalize life in the villages—food supplies have been organized and 16,000 sets of warm clothing, 118 diesel power stations, 10,000 tents, and 1,600 yurts have been brought in. Most of the work is still to be done, however. A lot will have to be done, an awful lot, before the first seeds can be sown after the spring plowing and the cattle can be herded out to graze. Naturally, the republic will not be able to cope alone with the burden which has fallen on it, and envoys from the entire country's agro-industrial complex are on their way to help. Listen to what we were told by Yevgeniy Ivanovich Sizenko, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee:

[Begin Sizenko recording] Over a short period—in effect, over 2 years—almost R2 billion in capital investment has to be commissioned, and approximately R1.6 billion worth of construction and installation work has to be completed. The provision of assistance has therefore been based around the following principle: We plan to allocate each affected rayon, farm, and processing enterprise to the union and automous republic state agro-industrial committees, and the agro-industrial committees of krays and oblasts. In other words, the following procedure will be employed: Each sovkhoz and kolkhoz will have a reliable and strong sponsor in the form of a specific oblast, which will use its potential to give the required assistance to rebuild everything that has been destroyed in the given sovkhoz or kolkhoz. [end recording]

Information Center Formed

NC2312113188 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 23 Dec 88

[From the review of KOMMUNIST]

[Text] The destructive earthquake caused great losses in the agriculture of the republic. The disaster area includes 365 populated rural localities; 58 villages have been totally destroyed, more than 100 have suffered partial destruction, 500,000 people have been deprived of shelter, production buildings have suffered damage, cattle have perished, and much livestock has been left without shelter. These and other facts and figures are presented in the paper's editorial entitled "For the Revival of [words indistinct]."

Today, when the first stage of the struggle to save lives is coming to a close, says the paper, a second but no less important stage becomes the task: to rebuild the destroyed [words indistinct], restore their economic potential, and engage the kolkhozniks and sovkhoz workers in social production in the rayons that have suffered from the earthquake.

In order to control the situation fully, emphasizes the editorial, what is required is correct information. That is why the state agro-industrial committee of the republic has established an information center where there are

people on duty around the clock. Operations groups are carrying out an on-the-spot inventory in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The efforts of all those who (?are providing) assistance to the victims of the natural disaster are being coordinated by Sizenko, deputy chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee and minister of the USSR.

The role of the rayon agro-industrial associations is growing. They not only have to mobilize the efforts of the working people for the indispensable carrying out of the spring planting but also must arm people with the confidence that tomorrow our republic will (?blossom) even more, concludes the editorial.

'Generation' Suffers Trauma

PM2212094588 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 22 Dec 88 p 4

[Special correspondents L. Leontyeva, N. Ordinyan report from Yerevan: "Pain and Hope"]

[Text] The contrast between the photographs is staggering. Dozens of photographs are on display on stands in the hall of the Yerevan Conservatoire where the headquarters of the Soviet Children's Fund has moved in. Some of the photographs show laughing, happy children. These are the photographs brought along by relatives of children missing in the earthquake zone. The other photographs show pale, waxen faces with extensive burns, abrasions, bandages. Most of these photographs have been taken in Yerevan hospitals.

And the lists of names of children and juveniles pinned up here feature more than 25,000 names. Information about them arriving from everywhere is fed into a computer. The whole search for missing children in which hundreds of volunteers are taking part is gradually concentrating at the headquarters of the Soviet and the republic Children's Funds.

Alas, a tremendous amount of work lies ahead. In the opinion of A. Altunyan, leader of the search group, the sad list of missing children, separated from their parents, will continue to grow—after all, so far it includes mainly the names of youngsters from the cities which were destroyed. Yet dozens of rural population centers were also wholly or partially wiped from the face of the earth.

People are crowding around the lists of names. There is pain and hope in their eyes. "Perhaps his or her name is there, perhaps he or she can be found?" It has happened. Quite a few have been found. But sometimes something else happens. With a shaky hand V. Paturyan, photographer of the search group, writes the word "deceased" on the photograph of 4-year old Marat Minasyan which he has taken down from the stand.

Aid is arriving at the headquarters from everywhere. During the first few days warm clothes, underwear, blankets, and shoes were distributed right here. Now the center has been allocated a special store from which all the essentials will be dispatched to addressees or handed out to the needy free of charge.

Nonetheless, even now the organization of assistance to the families which have suffered is not marked by the necessary efficiency. In the opinion of E. Oganesyan, chairman of the republican branch of the Children's Fund and rector of the Conservatoire, the reason lies in the lack of detailed information and coordinated action among all those involved. The goods intended for children are not arriving promptly. They are being processed inexcusably slowly at various bases and stores.

Children's goods are flooding into the republic, yet at the headquarters you see notices which read: "The Children's Fund needs towels, bed linen, soap, detergent, toothpaste, toothbrushes, toys..."

The Fund has no transport facilities. All the goods that are arriving at its address are being transported by Conservatoire staff in their own vehicles. They are prepared to sit behind the steering wheel round the clock, but how much can you transport in a "Zhiguli"?

And there is another difficult task. Survivors have to be treated and nursed. It is necessary to free thousands upon thousands of Armenian children from paralyzing fear and stress. This is more difficult with children than with adults. The reaction of a child when he learns that an amputated arm or leg will not grow again or that he will never again see his mother and father who perished under the ruins is heart-rending. Even the children who were nowhere near the earthquake are shocked as a result of meetings with children and relatives who survived the horror of the disaster. Doctors have come up against the phenomenon where children identify with a brother or sister who has suffered in the disaster and show corresponding changes in their state.

A few days ago a large group of Moscow paediatricians, psychologists, and psychotherapists led by Professor V. Mukhina arrived in Yerevan. Together with their Armenian colleagues, the Muscovites set up a center of emergency psychological assistance to the population. Specialists are making use of everything science has to offer to help children overcome the shock. And, most importantly, they are elaborating a plan for long-term assistance to the population and its psychological rehabilitation.

It is necessary to embark on this program without delay because, in specialists' opinion, the psychological shock to which the population has been subjected will manifest itself in the near future in juvenile and youth problems.

Professor V. Mukhina believes that it is necessary right now to begin to train special cadres for work with young Armenians. This opinion is shared by D. Abramyan, head of the Yerevan Pediatric Institute laboratory dealing with psychological problems. He believes that it will

take at least 15 years for the psychological rehabilitation of a whole generation of Armenian children. It is not easy to rebuild destroyed cities and villages. But much more time is needed to close the wounds of tragedy which has afflicted the human soul.

Meanwhile the emergency aid doctors are spending their days and nights with the children and their parents. A spark in a child's eyes, release from fear, deep sleep—these are the best rewards.

...We left the headquarters of the Children's Fund late at night. The crowd in front of the lists of names and the photograph stands was not getting smaller. Another cry of joy: "Found!" Another child is no longer an orphan. Another smile—they are very precious now—will soon light up a child's face.

French Relief Work Appreciated

PM2212125188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Dec 88 Second Edition p 6

[Special correspondent A. Pecherskiy report: "Misfortune Has United Us. Soviet People Say—'Thank You, French Friends!'"]

[Excerpts] The command post for the French "Civil Security" military subunit was located in the Shirakskiy Party Raykom building that miraculously remained intact on one of Leninakan's main streets. I met Colonel Kaydarek [name as published], chief of the operations headquarters, in the raykom secretary's office.

A French detachment of 498 people arrived in Leninakan 9 December at 2300 hours. In 45 minutes the rescue workers had started work, first in the ruins of a school and then at other facilities. Local inhabitants came up to them and showed them places where voices and moans could be heard. Listening apparatus and specially trained dogs precisely determined the place where there were people buried alive. Doctors, who, where possible, administered immediate first aid, were sent in: People were given medicine and life-sustaining injections. Then the most complex work of getting the victims out began. Most of the collapsed structures were made of the kind of "material" that was literally pulverized. There were many cases where debris fell on the hapless victims while slabs were being lifted and so corpses were pulled out.

A field hospital with resuscitation equipment was located outside the command post. Most people were first in need of warmth since they had spent a long time in subfreezing temperatures and were weak and exhausted. After first aid the victims were transferred to the city's hospitals or taken to Yerevan by helicopter.

The main difficulty was getting rescue teams and equipment to the places where survivors had to be pulled out. Minutes literally counted... The French rescuers established contact with the "Sptetsatom" Association team that arrived from Chernobyl. Two-way radio communications were soon organized. [passage omitted]

I talked with Yuliy Andreyev, deputy general director of the "Spetsatom" Production Association, in one of the tents at the Chernobyl specialists' camp.

"Yes," he confirmed, "we worked with French rescue workers in full contact. After the tragedy at Chernobyl I realized and am now quite convinced of the need to set up a unified rescue service within our country. In this situation the departmental resuce services did not prove their worth at all. I think that in the light of the lessons of Chernobyl and the tragedy in Armenia a unified rescue service should be set up. It should be versatile so that specialists can operate in any unforeseen circumstances..."

Strapping young lads wearing French military uniform formed up outside Shirakskiy Raykom.

"You can be proud of yourselves, lads; you've each done your duty in full," Captain Chauvaau said. "You've worked day and night in constant hope of rescuing just one more living soul."

There were small smiles on the soldiers' dust-covered faces. Thank you for everything, French friends.

Journalists from many countries came to Yerevan during this time. Their reportage from the scene of events mainly reflects the sitaution correctly. Unprecedented disaster has befallen the land of Armenia. Everything is not ideal in these extreme conditions: There are malfunctions both in coordination, the work of transport, and distribution of the aid that is arriving.

We have not closed our eyes to this and we are trying to rectify the matter rapidly. This only becomes offensive in human terms when you yourself witness an event and encounter biased reportage in certain Western publications that is unfounded and based on accusatory rumors. Such reports by no means help either the afflicted Armenian people or the millions of readers throughout the world who want to know the truth.

Baku Commandant Describes Normalizing Situation

PM2312103188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Dec 88 Second Edition p 3

[Interview with Colonel General M.A. Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District, by Z. Kadymbekov and G. Yakovlev: "A Zone of Confidence"—place, date not given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Baku's labor rhythm has been fully restored and all industrial enterprises, consumer services, institutions, and educational establishments are working.

Today it is no longer possible to believe that until quite recently people in their thousands were marching in the streets and the central square was seething with endless rallies. So, how is one to explain the fact that the "special status," so unusual in peacetime, is still in effect in Baku?

[Tyagunov] It came about as a result of the state of affairs in the city when the customary forms for managing society's life were violated. The levers previously applied by the local authority proved no longer capable of regulating the processes of daily life and could not fully control them. Instructions from the authoritative body were not obeyed, citizens' constitutional rights were not guaranteed, and their honor and dignity were infringed.

Hence the necessity to change the legal status of the authoritative body—all authority is concentrated in the hands of a military commandant who, by virtue of a resolution by the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, is invested with the necessary powers, primarily as regards restoring citizens' constitutional rights and their normal life. Depending on the specific situation, the military commandant imposes administrative restrictions [komendantskaya sluzhba] within the boundaries of the relevant zone. A ban is imposed on demonstrations, rallies, strikes, and amusements, control is imposed on transportation, postal services, telegraph services, communications, trade, finance, medical services, and other spheres of life, and movements in and out of the city are regulated. The military commandant's orders become mandatory and must be obeyed by all citizens of the relevant district regardless of their office or status, regardless of whether they are native residents or visitors.

One of the "special status" measures is the curfew, which sharply restricts the population's movements at nighttime in order to avoid mass disturbances. While the curfew is in effect, between 2000 and 0500 hours, residents are banned from circulating in the streets without special passes. In Baku, for example, there is a total ban on the circulation of personal transport.

[Interviewer] And even so you come across violators?

[Tyagunov] To start with, the violations were of a mass nature, there were quite a few instances of attempted pogroms, arson, robbery, and other offenses in which—let me make this clear—the criminal world played a substantial role. The situation has noticeably improved now, but it still cannot be treated as normal: Hundreds of people breach the regime, many because of ignorance, but others deliberately. Not all citizens have voluntarily handed in any weapons in their possession. Hundreds of firearms and edged weapons have been confiscated during this period. Gaibov, Guliyev, and Mamedov, who worked as guards in the 26 Baku Commissars Rayon Internal Affairs Department, were recently arrested for embezzlement and manufacture of sawed-off shotguns. Firearms were discovered in the "Children's World" store. I perceive these facts as directly linked with the attempts made by extremists to destabilize the situation in Baku and to push the two peoples, who have always lived in accord, into bloody clashes.

[Interviewer] Evidently, these attempts failed precisely because the troops were present and a special status had been introduced?

[Tyagunov] Certainly. Otherwise the consequences could have been unpredictable. That was the time when hooligan outbursts became more frequent in a number of the city's rayons, and groups of criminal elements managed to disrupt the work of passenger transport, enterprises, city institutions, stores, postal services, savings banks, the container station, and a series of other institutions. The city with its 2 million inhabitants was almost paralyzed. Almost 100 buses were put out of circulation within a matter of a few days. Militant youths broke windows, perforated roofs, took away license plates, and forced drivers to abandon their work; pickets appeared at depot gates. Leaflets fanning interethnic dissension were distributed. In these circumstances, had we delayed in imposing the special status, the river would have burst its banks and clashes and loss of life could not have been avoided. After all, even after the imposition of the special status we continued to receive telephone calls: Help, they are breaking our windows, they are threatening and blackmailing us. Combat vehicles rushed to help, many incidents were confirmed, but there were also quite a few provocative calls. It actually became necessary to make a provision in the order: Anonymous reports will be ignored. It cannot be denied that the atmosphere was charged in the extreme. Yes, rallies held in the first few days did have a peaceful appearance. Most people came to the square in order to speak out frankly about painful problems. They actually strove to maintain order. But later on, at the same time as sensible and fair demands, one could also hear provocative and unconstitutional calls which could not fail to alienate honest and sensible people from what was happening. The appearance of the square and the mood of participants in the rallies were changing for the worse day by day and were taking on forms running contrary to Soviet laws. Many refused to leave even at night, dozens of open fires burned in the roadways, and the tent city stretched all the way to the sea. Motor vehicles and even refrigerator trucks with food started arriving there. A rally that lasted for several days, people spending the nights in the square, and the constant assembly of a large mass of people already tired from sleepless nights and the cold aggravated the situation, created unsanitary conditions, and produced the threat of an epidemic. It was absolutely essential to clear the square of demonstrators. Special status had already been introduced by that time and the city's entire life was subject to a strict regime. Those stubbornly remaining in the square were the only exception....

[Interviewer] Mikhail Aleksandrovich, 5 December was a particularly testing day. Many stories are circulating to

this day about events in the square, and they have been picked up by foreign mass media. What actually happened?

[Tyagunov] On the day before I personally went to Lenin Square, explained to those gathered there that their actions were against the law, and suggested that they should disperse. The Baku Gorispolkom chairman and the city prosecutor also made the same request. These arguments produced no effect. It then became necessary to resort to an operation to clear the square. It began at 0400 hours. Weapons and combat vehicles were not used. It was a case of, if I could use the expression, one mass squeezing out another. **There was neither loss of life nor any serious injuries.** But rumors about dozens of people killed, spread by instigators, produced exceptional excitement and agitation among people. A crowd of excited people rushed into the square in the morning. The troops blocking their way had to withstand proper attacks. Stones flew, nightsticks were applied. Finding itself cut off from the square, a group of aggressively inclined hooligans started committing outrages in the streets—overturning vehicles, smashing store and house windows, attempting to bring the work of enterprises to a halt. Servicemen were authorized to use their weapons, but they did not do so. They fired warning shots in the air. Through joint efforts—I mean assistance from party and soviet organs and workers from Baku enterprises—we managed to master the situation and ease the tension. The gradual process of bringing the city's life back to normal started on that day.

It has to be said that the tragedy in Armenia had a noticeable effect on this process. Armenia's sorrow echoed painfully in the hearts of Baku's inhabitants. Let me emphasize this—in the hearts of the overwhelming majority. It is, however, impossible to overlook the reaction of some groups, which cannot be considered part of universal human values....

[Interviewer] Many people approach the military authorities. What are the problems which they bring to you most frequently?

[Tyagunov] You'd be better off asking what problems are not brought to us. On the day after the special status was introduced we opened desks for assisting citizens on personal matters in all rayispolkoms and the gorispolkom. We have already been approached by 15,000 citizens.

I personally am stunned by the extent of human suffering. Let me describe just two meetings, and you will understand why. War veteran Sh. Adamov attended a reception session. He has lived here all his life, he said, he left for the front from here, he has stared death in the face on many occasions and never flinched. But he did feel afraid when disturbances began in Baku. Anonymous threatening telephone calls, suggestions that he ought to leave. The actual atmosphere in the city seemed to have changed suddenly. I go to the store, and the sales girl asks me: Azerbaijani or Armenian? What have we come to?

The migrants from Armenia present another problem. Another frontline soldier, D. Akimov, came to see me. He called on behalf of residents of Bagratashen village in the Armenian SSR's Noyemberyanskiy Rayon. In just 2 days the "beards" chased 747 Azerbaijani families comprising some 3,000 persons out of the village. They did not even let them collect their belongings....

These are, to put it bluntly, tragic stories. I am myself a former frontline soldier, which may be why I feel especially sorry for those who, having suffered the evils of war, are suffering again now, in peacetime. This is not a matter of just the odd story or two.... You hear so many of them at the reception sessions. We help everyone as much as we can. We will continue to help to the extent of our capabilities and even beyond them. We have close contacts and complete mutual understanding with the leadership of the republic Communist Party Central Committee, the party gorkoms and raykoms, and the ispolkoms. And of course we rely on the people's support. Confidence is our main weapon. We will not find mutual understanding until we create "zones of confidence." And yet the people need help, as they need air to breathe, in solving the emerging problems and in struggling against those who are guilty of fanning interethnic dissension.

[Interviewer] Mikhail Aleksandrovich, what is your assessment of the situation in Baku today?

[Tyagunov] The normalization process is actively under way. The most encouraging confirmation of this can be seen in the fact that there has been a sharp fall in the number of people leaving Baku, and mainly that Armenian families have started returning home. But I would not like to paint an exceptionally optimistic picture. It will obviously take some time before the forces sowing interethnic dissension are finally stopped. We will remain here for as long as may be necessary to ensure total security for the entire population and impose order in the city. It is thus premature to talk about the withdrawal of troops. This decision will be made at the appropriate time by the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium whose resolution, let me repeat, introduced the special status in Baku.

Curfew Relaxed for 31 Dec

NC2212194688 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1715 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Notice by Colonel General Tyagunov, commandant of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] (?On the recommendation) of the Baku Gorispolkom and taking into consideration the requests made by the city workers, I have adopted the following decision:

On 31 December 1988, the curfew will start at 2330, not at 2200. It will continue until 0500 on 1 January 1989. Then, on 1 January 1989, the curfew will again start at 2200, just as in the past. Preparations for the New Year, the screening of films, theatrical activities, [words indistinct], and other arrangements will be allowed from 24 to 31 December. These activities can be carried out until 1900 every day.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, commandant of the Baku City Special District

Various Arrests in Azerbaijan

PM2212123588 Moscow TRUD in Russian 22 Dec 88 p 2

["Own Information" report: "USSR MVD Press Bureau Reports"]

[Text] Militiamen have exposed a criminal group of bribe-takers who operated over a long period in the Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Motor Transport system. The people arrested collected money for organizers of unauthorized rallies, prevented motor transport from going out on route, pressured drivers who wished to work, and forced Armenians, Jews, and Russians to give up their jobs. Criminal proceedings have been instituted with respect to these scandalous events. A group of USSR Prosecutor's Office and USSR MVD personnel is in charge of the investigation into this criminal activity.

Steps are being taken to detect and press charges against those who have taken part in pogroms, carried out arson attacks on apartments, and committed corporal crimes. Criminal proceedings have been instituted, for example, against citizen Movsesyan, born 1954, who placed six explosive devices in Kirovabad's Adzhikend settlement. Four of them went off, and it was only by good fortune that none of the settlement's inhabitants suffered. A further four explosive devices were discovered during a search of Movsesyan's house. In the month since the introduction of curfew 73 explosive devices, 15,855 firearms, and 69 edged weapons have been taken from the population of the two republics. Around 22,000 firearms have been voluntarily handed in for temporary keeping.

Mikaelyan, worker at a Stepanakert sewn-garment factory, has been arrested for taking part in pogroms and hooliganism. Investigation has brought to light deplorable cases of juveniles and even children taking part in pogroms in blind imitation of the example set by adults.

Numerous cases of extortion and and bribe-taking by some leading workers in the Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Motor Transport intercity passenger transportation production association have recently been detected in Azerbaijan by an operational group of the USSR MVD Main Administration for Combating the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation, working in conjunction with their republic counterparts. The USSR Prosecutor's Office has instituted criminal proceedings in these cases.

Z. Ali-zade, driver at one of Kirovabad's transport subunits, has been taken into custody. He has been charged with particularly large-scale speculation: He acquired confectionery products (sweets and imported biscuits) worth R22,000 and three suites of furniture, radio equipment, and around 1,000 bottles of vodka—worth R40,000 in all—in Moscow and aimed to resell them and make a big profit.

The forces protecting public order in the region will continue to make use of the full force of the law to stabilize the situation and ensure citizens' safety...

Profile of Baku Strike Leader, Industrial Plant

PM2212153488 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Dec 88 First Edition p 4

[Report by special correspondent Lieutenant Colonel O. Falichev from Baku: "At the Lieutenant Shmidt Plant"]

[Text] In Baku, Narimanovskiy Rayon alone has more than 30 different industrial enterprises. All the same, the Lieutenant Shmidt Machine Building Plant holds a special position among them. And not only because it has great revolutionary traditions and produces output that is so necessary to many oil recovery and processing sectors, or because thousands of people work here. In recent times, when Lenin Square was seething with the crowd that laid siege to it for many days, this plant was one of the first to add fuel to the fire, so to speak, and actively support the demonstrators. Moreover, it produced from its ranks a leader laying claim to the role of "son of the people"—Neymat Panakhov. Who, let us be frank, achieved considerable successes initially. They say that when the seething square would listen to neither party nor soviet leaders, Neymat Panakhov mounted the platform, raised his hands above his head—and the crowd of half a million was still...

How was a worker from Shop No 12 at the Lieutenant Shmidt Plant able not only to win such popularity, but also to manipulate the masses' consciousness and fan nationalist sentiments? Such situations will doubtless be the subject of study by sociologists and psychologists.

After visiting the plant and talking with workers and party and trade union leaders about this specific case, I formed my own opinion. But first, a few words about the plant itself.

Here, I was told, there are shops and sectors where the most up-to-date equipment, including imported equipment, is installed and the optimum conditions have been created for productive labor. The plant's output is in demand. It has links with many of the country's enterprises through reciprocal deliveries. You would think

that the deductions from profit would also be considerable, and hence the workers' material incentive and social development fund... But, surprising as it may seem, the plant has not fulfilled its plan for around two 5-year plan periods. What is the reason? No one could answer that question unequivocally. Our associates let us down, they said, there is a shortage of manpower. There is a continual game of cadre leapfrog, with directors succeeding one another. In the last 4 years there have been six. All the same, the main reason the plant is on a state subsidy and has a high cadre turnover and social tension lies elsewhere, I think.

In the long years of what we call stagnation, people here were cut off, so to speak, from the means of production, from participation in managing them, and, ultimately, from the distribution of benefits and housing. The man at a machine tool could work for a long time in such a way as to overfulfill his plan and have excellent production indicators, but that had absolutely no effect on his social well-being or his turn in the waiting line for an apartment. Even today there are 750 people here without apartments. Many live in hostels, including family men. I believe a majority of the workers come from other regions and oblasts of the republic.

"Sometimes men have come from another oblast to work at the plant and lived in the hostel, but their wives and children were not even registered with them," M. Vaskanov, deputy chairman of the plant trade union committee, says. "When we took this problem to the local organs, they refused to understand..."

Other problems also gradually grew, like snowballs. It was necessary to find people to blame for this situation. And they found them in... the representatives of the Armenian nationality, who allegedly undeservedly enjoy what the Azerbaijanis themselves lack. The workers developed, on the one hand, a growing indifference to the results of labor, and on the other, an inflamed hostility to their neighbor at work and dissatisfaction with their own position... In this situation a spark was enough to cause an explosion. And the spark arose in the form of national problems insinuated by "well-wishers," problems that were always complex in this region.

"Yes, we let slip the crucial moment," N. Untevskiy, deputy secretary of the plant party committee, laments. "We did not think everything was going to become unpredictable..."

But people like Panakhov let nothing pass them by. They immediately found their feet in the situation, realized how they could make political capital... But Panakhov must be given his due. It ultimately appeared to people that what neither the trade union, nor the party organization, nor the plant director had been able to do over many years, he had managed to extract from them, so to speak, in a short time.

When the strikes began, when the plant came up against the fact of the mass dissatisfaction of the workers, who were living from hand to mouth, without their families, when people began to seek their often legitimate rights through rallies, demonstrations, and failing to turn up for work, the city authorities were forced to register their families. That is what they told me at the plant.

Sensing strength and support, Panakhov obtained a meeting with A. Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of the republic Communist Party Central Committee. And soon the workers were allocated more than 80 apartments, although they had formerly been allocated only 23 apartments a year, and even then with difficulty. It was certainly not Panakhov's visit to the first secretary that achieved this, but a serious analysis of the existing situation by the republican leadership. But certain people who were behind Panakhov represented it as being to his personal credit. Perhaps the plant leaders should have given this some thought: Were they losing their influence on the masses, was their political authority slipping away like sand between their fingers? But it did not go that far...

I am profoundly convinced that the cause of the national contradictions that arose here must be sought not in historical roots, but in present-day social contradictions and the loss of a sense of reality and political vigilance on the part of certain leaders.

I talked with many people at the Lieutenant Shmidt Plant. Take S. Stepanyan. He has been working at one of the shops for 15 years. A CPSU member since 1960.

"Frankly, I was not afraid for myself, but for my wife and children," he said. "That is why I took them away from Baku."

Many people were forced to do the same, although there were no manifestations of nationalism toward them in the shops.

Agaverdi Kalbi Abbasov was nearby. He and Stepanyan are friends. In all these years they have never said an unkind word to each other.

"My colleagues and I do not support the Armenians' departure," Abbasov said. "Nothing should come between Stepanyan and me."

Indeed, what should come between them, two workers, two Communists. And doubtless those who seek to draw people like them into unworthy disputes, who play on nationalist sentiments, should be called severely to account. D. Geydarov, secretary of the steel foundry party organization, agrees with this. He is an Azerbaijani, but comes from near Leninakan, where his father, mother, and brothers live in the village of Okhchi-ogly. During those heated days he talked with people a great deal, tried to persuade them, to explain things. And Shop No 1 was the only one that continued to work when

everyone was on strike. That is what a Communist's personal stance can mean. And when the earthquake happened, he went to Leninakan. Many people said: Where are you going, use your head. Geydarov replied: I am going home. Now that he has come back again, having looked on the grief and tears of his nearest and dearest, Dzhamal speaks out even more categorically:

"The people are not to blame for anything. At the front an Armenian saved my uncle's life, dragging him behind him, wounded, for many kilometers. And I will repay that in kind until the end of my days..."

Much is being done at the plant to normalize the situation. Party organization secretaries and leaders regularly address the workers and explain the situation. Representatives of Army political organs and the party raykom come here often. Explanatory work is done with everyone who submits a request to leave. Those who took part in mass disorders have been recommended for dismissal for violating labor discipline, leaving their work, and inflicting considerable material damage on the plant's collective. Among them are K. Gasanov, I. Badalov, R. Guseynov. Severe party and administrative penalties have been imposed on many. All this is having some results. Some of those who left the plant have returned, others are returning now. The plant is ahead of plan. What will happen next? That question worries many people. And it is good that people at the plant are thinking seriously about tomorrow. What it will bring depends largely on how the political leaders influence the masses.

This view was expressed, in a conversation with your correspondent, by V. Dzhafarov, chief of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee press, television, and radio sector.

"I carefully examine the reports of the military commandant of the special district, I meet and talk with people, and I must say that the situation in the city is entirely normal now," he noted. "It is very important to keep it that way."

As for Panakhov, he was arrested by law enforcement organs under Article 1 of the 23 November 1988 USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree. The USSR Prosecutor's Office investigation group has reported that he is accused of violating public order and kindling national discord. An investigation has also begun into a number of other participants in the disorders who have been arrested.

Graduate Student Argues Need for Bilingualism

PM2212160588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 22 Dec 88 p 3

[Article by K. Katanyan, post graduate student at the USSR Academy of Sciences Linguistics Institute: "Bilingualism and Interethnic Problems"]

[Text] It was still warm in Moscow and it was hot on the area of the Army Central Sports Club universal sports hall. But the referee's whistle sounded and the teams taking part in the USSR handball championship left for the interval and a human sea rushed into the foyer, seething and dividing into individual streams. I joined one of them and took my place in the long line at the sign reading "buffet."

The young men behind the counter worked skillfully and the line moved rapidly. But suddenly the movement stopped. About 15 pleasant young men standing in front, dressed in the colors of the Kaunas "Granitas" team, were carrying on an unsuccessful conversation with the salesman. At first this scene merely amused everyone: "Well I never—senior graders, and they can't explain in Russian what they want." The Lithuanian fans resorted to sign language, but the salesman's patience was already exhausted and he made no attempt to guess where his customer's index finger was pointing. At last a young man who looked older than his comrades made a final attempt, addressing the salesman in English, but the latter merely shrugged helplessly.

The line behind them was already seething and unpleasant comments began to be heard like "those fans again...", "They've descended on us..." and so forth. So the boys would probably have had to leave empty-handed had an elderly man straight ahead of me not intervened. He rapidly ascertained in English what the Lithuanian guests wanted and immediately translated for the salesman. Within a couple of minutes the entire gang, happy at the outcome of their protracted endeavor, left to sit at the little tables and I, who studied in a union republic myself, was astounded at how badly matters are organized with regard to the compulsory teaching of the Russian language in national schools if even senior graders cannot put two words together in the simplest situation.

Another example. After graduating from Yerevan University we were on officer courses in a military unit. Our good knowledge of the Russian language enabled us cadets to find our way perfectly in all the convolutions of barracks life.

We immediately noticed that it was almost always the same new recruits, mainly those drafted to the Soviet Army from the Central Asian republics, who were on kitchen duty. While the other soldiers engaged in servicing equipment and combat training and drill, these poor devils were monotonously washing dirty plates and floors and cleaning potatoes and kitchen cookers. And we were struck by the fact that they did not even try to protest, realizing that they were simply incapable of anything more. The point is that they often had no understanding at all of the exercises and the officers' explanations since the latter, naturally, did not know their native languages and they had only a very poor knowledge of Russian.

Can we tolerate this situation? I do not think so, and I hope everyone understands that. The only thing is it is difficult to change anything since the short predraft

Russian language courses for men do not save the situation and in the Army language instruction is not provided for, although it is perfectly possible to organize it.

And so it is essential to teach Russian in the republics in a multinational state like ours. And the standard of instruction must be raised to a qualitatively higher level with the aid of the use of modern methods of language training, which will even make it possible to reduce the number of hours of study.

We could end the "visual agitation" here but, alas, as yet we have examined only one side of the coin.

It frequently happens that an indigenous inhabitant of a particular republic, who cites as his native language the language of his nationality, cannot perform quite simple tasks in that language. Often he himself indicates that he has a poor or only satisfactory knowledge of the language. I want to note in particular that it is a case of people with higher education! Naturally, while their main language of instruction was Russian they also studied their own national language in school and in the VUZ. But we have become convinced that this has proved insufficient. The practical result is that a substantial proportion of urban inhabitants, including the intelligentsia, use a kind of mixture of Russian and their national languages which in no way favors the normal development of their native speech. And the trend to send their children to the more prestigious Russian schools helps to drive the literary language even further from daily life.

Worst of all, over many years the propaganda of a national language was usually considered to be a manifestation of nationalism and the use of the Russian language virtually the equivalent of internationalism. This substitution of concepts is intolerable.

Should we not seek in the same attitude the explanation for the appeals which have been heard recently? For instance, in Latvia, where calls are being heard to prevent the disappearance of the Lettish language and subsequent assimilation of the nation. Or in Belorussia, where the number of schools where the national language is taught has sunk to an unacceptable minimum, where the Belorussians themselves prefer to send their children to Russian schools.

All these problems were topical both when it was believed that everything with regard to bilingualism in our country was in order, and now that the shortcomings which have been revealed in linguistic life and the practical teaching of national languages enable some people to cast doubt on the need for bilingualism in some regions of the USSR at all.

I share the feelings of the indigenous population of the Soviet Baltic republics which is very worried by the narrowing of the spheres of use of their native languages and I also believe that it is essential to give a republic's national language the status of state language, since it can become one step toward resurrecting the volume of its social functions. Right now this can in no way be regarded as a distortion of Lenin's nationalities policy since for V.I. Lenin reluctance to recognize a statewide language was connected exclusively with the Russian language, whose enforced dissemination in the "prison of the peoples" was not to continue after the revolution. As for the republics, the Baltic republics merely want to follow the example of the Transcaucasus, where for more than 50 years now the constitutions have contained an article on the state language.

Thus **the national language of a union or autonomous republic, after it has officially been declared a state language, should become the main language. Not only the indigenous inhabitants but also representatives of other nationalities in permanent residence there should know it. Naturally, it is essential to organize skilled teaching of the specific language.**

Incidentally, declaring a national language a state language cannot be regarded as a panacea against all ills, as can be seen from the example of the Armenian language, which is by no means threatened with extinction. But speech's choking up with foreign words and constructions is something quite old, particularly in the cities, and cannot fail to give rise to fears that in the future this will also affect the literary language. And the example of Nagorno-Karabakh shows the consequences of the use of the official state language of a union republic to virtually eradicate the languages of small ethnic groups or people who do not belong to the basic nationality; that is, those living in a foreign language environment. That is why **the basic language of the autonomous oblasts must be stipulated in the constitutions of the relevant union republics.**

In my view it is also a mistake to use the status of the state language to get rid of national-Russian bilingualism. In all such cases language becomes a tool in resolving purely political tasks, causing or heating interethnic hostility.

On this plane the state of affairs in the Estonian SSR is alarming. The draft Law on Language published in SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 30 October 1988 is full of contradictions which were the result of the desire to step up the influence of the native language by abandoning the bilingualism necessary in any multiethnic country. Judge for yourselves: The law stipulates the right of every citizen to address any institutions (right up to trading networks) in his native language and a reply in the same language is guaranteed. Everyone knows that it is most frequently Russian—the language of interethnic communication on the territory of our entire country—which will act as the native (or "other language acceptable to both sides") for people of nonindigenous nationality. If we renounce universal bilingualism then an enormous number of translators will be needed capable of guaranteeing the observance of the rights declared by the law.

But where are we to find so many translators, if article 20 of the same law grants the right to organize single-language children's institutions and schools. When it is a case of Estonian-language kindergartens and schools, we should not speak of a knowledge of the Russian language. If education (article 19) and the improvement of qualifications (article 23) should be pursued only in Estonian, the result is that there seems to be nowhere to train potential translators. Surely the only solution will be to send people to study in the RSFSR and other republics, but will this not be very expensive under the conditions of regional economic accountability [khozraschet]?

In addition, if representatives of other ethnic groups of the population also enjoy the right to single-language schools then what will happen to the compulsory teaching of Estonian—and it is indeed to be compulsory and not optional. This applies not only to Estonia but also to any other republic.

Consequently, it is possible to draw one more conclusion, stemming logically from the first two. **Russian-national bilingualism, like national-Russian bilingualism, is a necessity and not someone's whim. With regard to the autonomous republics and oblasts the same may be said of multilingualism, which really exists in a number of places.**

I want to note immediately that it is not a case of mastering both languages to perfection: Knowing a necessary minimum, using his knowledge of the second language in potential situations of communications, and using it where necessary in the work process—that is what every person should be able to do.

The Russian language has long been functioning successfully as an intermediary language. Although as yet we cannot satisfactorily teach everyone Russian, despite the fact that over half our country's population speaks it and immersion in the linguistic environment presents no difficulty. Add to this the Russian language mass media accessible today to everyone.

There is no doubt that measures are needed to improve the standard of native language instruction, but this cannot and should not be a pretext for renouncing the intermediary language. "The Russian language remains the language of interethnic communication. We are after all a component part of the USSR," Indrek Toome, chairman of the Estonian Council of Ministers, stresses. But what I want to know is how and why that case needs to put the young Estonian men drafted into the Soviet Army in a difficult position.

A cycle of "roundtables" which are being held by the USSR Academy of Sciences Linguistics Institute is devoted to the question of developing national-Russian and Russian-national bilingualism. At one session the majority of speakers agreed that the proclamation of the thesis that "the Russian language is the second native language of all peoples of the USSR" once caused great harm. As a result the "first native language" was often in the background and consequently some national languages were on the verge of extinction. An attempt can now be observed to turn the arrow in the opposite direction, but this too cannot lead to a positive result. **The Russian language should not supplant the native language but coexist with it, fulfilling its own social functions. The standard of knowledge of the second language which satisfies the harmonious bilingual personality can be the subject of scientific discussion. Here every person can choose for himself which language he considers to be his native one, which should become the language of instruction, and which should be used most often in the work process.**

In this connection I must dwell on one more fact which is giving rise to fears. The all-union census of the population will be carried out in January 1989. Despite the fact that all data are recorded in the census materials on the basis of what citizens say and consequently somewhat subjectively (especially on language issues, after all it is far from always that a person correctly defines his degree of knowledge of a language), nonetheless the results of the census are of interest to sociologists, psychologists, and linguists since a great number of those asked smooth over individual errors as long as they do not become the rule.

To help those who are to carry out the 1989 census, Central Television has shown the documentary "Population Census Teller" which shows a situation which could arise when any real family is questioned and explains the principles for filling in the forms. I do not know what specialists will say about filling in other sections, but as for the language question, in the opinion of many linguists there can be no talk of initiating a census as long as objectivity has not been achieved even in resolving the most subjective question.

Remember how in a mixed family (the husband was Russian and his wife Latvian, the family did not live in Latvia and its members spoke Russian because the head of the family simply did not know any other language) the teller recorded the native language of the absent wife on the basis of what was said by the husband, who explained that his wife spoke Russian and Lettish equally well and that therefore he found it difficult to answer the question correctly. And then the teller recorded the Latvian woman's native language as Russian only on the grounds that it was used in the family. Yet the remaining members of the family spoke only one language! Surely it was not difficult to use any dictionary to find out that the native language remains the language of their motherland which people have spoken since childhood.

If the film's recommendation is accepted by the tellers throughout the country as a guideline then this information will simply be of no need to anyone since the majority of mixed families speak the language of interethnic communication, but this gives no grounds for considering it their native language. Some 70 years ago

this would have been called chauvinism, but today we can speak rather of the incompetence which sensible people cannot tolerate in the era of glasnost: After all, in individual places this policy will be called an appeal to assimilation, which could aggravate the already tense situation.

In the opinion of specialists, the only way out of this situation can be forms' combination of "native language" section with a section on what is functionally the first language—that is, the language which the respondent uses more frequently, and then it is possible to ask what "other languages" he knows.

Consequently **it is essential to continue to think more carefully about the methods for the mass questioning of the population on language and national issues.**

Language is the possession of the entire people, one of the main elements of human culture and an increasing number of people are therefore voicing their opinion on linguistic and particularly sociolinguistic problems. This often generates a reaction in response, frequently an adverse reaction, either from those who defend the rights of their native language or from those who live in a single-language environment and are afraid of "nationalist" trends. Here superficial arguments about language give rise to particularly powerful emotions.

It is today, now that the situation is quite acute, that it is essential to allow specialists who are making a professional study of the language situation in the USSR to have their say. The attempt to accuse them of pursuing a language policy which has aggravated interethnic relations is simply unfounded. The role of linguists in the stagnation period was so insignificant that their opinion was simply not considered and conclusions which differed from the instructions issued from above were excluded while people inconvenient to the top leadership were simply dismissed and earlier still could have been repressed.

Even specific warnings were replaced with the classic phrase about individual shortcomings. Most frequently even individual terms giving rise to dissatisfaction among responsible comrades were not allowed through as, for instance, was the case with the term assimilation, which was negative with regard to language and nation.

And in general it is very easy, as M. Khint does in the fifth issue of the journal DRUZHBA NARODOV for 1988, to stick the label "linguistic Lysenkoists" on all sociolinguists and thereby to shift all the blame. This step is not to the honor of the serious researcher. Now, in the era of restructuring, it is indeed time to look "without rose-colored glasses" at many problems, including linguistic problems, but not to replace them with the dark glasses of the blind man, simply refusing to see the numerous achievements in the matter of language building and the methods of language training in our country, without which successes in other spheres of science and technology would have been impossible.

It is to resolve objectively, in a businesslike style and calm tone, all the questions which have risen over these years. The USSR Academy of Sciences Linguistics Institute is holding "roundtables" involving specialists from all regions of our country to prepare the six-volume collective work "Typology of Bilingualism and Multilingualism in the USSR" ["Tipologiya dvuyazychiya i mnogoyazychiya v SSSR"] that the "language and society" scientific council is functioning and a group has been created to study problems of the languages of minor peoples.

It is only through universal efforts that ways out of the situation which has taken shape can and must be found in order to prevent antagonism in linguistic life and to determine ways of developing the social functions of national languages and method of improving the standard of instruction.

So the serious talk about the prospects of linguistic development in the USSR has not yet ended.

Plan To Expand Teaching of Osetian Announced

NC2312092088 Tbilisi Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] The newspapers of the Yugo-Osetinskaya Autonomous Oblast have published a draft program for the development of the Osetian language. The purpose of the program is to raise questions related to the constitutional position of hte Osetian language, as well as to make research into the language and its study at the proper scientific level, and its teaching in pre-school, secondary, and higher educational institutions, the subject of discussion by all the people. The implementation of the program after the introduction of amendments and comments will ensure the constitutional usage of the Osetian language throughout the territory of the autonomous oblast, except in the Georgian SSR. This plan also provides for the teaching up to the fifth level of the Osetian language to non-Osetian speakers and of Georgian to non-Georgian speakers.

Economic

Economists Criticize Wasteful Planning Methods

PM2212152788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Letter from Doctor of Economic Sciences M. Lemeshev and Candidate of Economic Sciences V. Balan under the rubric "Problems and Opinions": "We Are Planning-...Wastefulness. How To Calculate the Economic Efficiency of the Decisions Taken"]

[Text] Are we working out correctly the expenditure on developing the economy? Alas, no country in the developed world has such archaic and inaccurate calculation methods.

The R680 billion invested in agriculture over the last 17 years has not produced a tangible result—the error is primarily a planning error. Or let us recall the 452,000 "ownerless" tractors and combines which in 1986 were not manned by cadres and were a heavy burden on our economy. And how should we interpret the decision to build a gigantic new tractor plant at Yelabuga at a cost of R3.8 billion whose construction had already been started and which was converted only recently at the government's decision to produce microliter cars?...

All this expense is the result of mistakes which in theory are called systematic but in common parlance are called fatal. They originate in centralized planning which fails to take into account enterprises' true needs for resources and imposes on them output which the enterprises are forced to take only because they have no choice. So, colossal resources have been frozen.

The formula on which the efficiency of measures to increase the technical standard of production is calculated violates the elementary laws of dialectics. For example, in substituting one machine with another, more modern one there is a saving of labor expenditure which is specific for this single machine. The magnitude of the saving obtained is multiplied by the number of new machines which it is proposed to install in the plan period. So now it becomes clear why the planning organs so generously channel resources to increase, for example, the number of tractors, combines, and other machines. The greater their number the greater, supposedly, is management efficiency.

The trouble is, however, that it is only "greater" on paper. If, for example, the shortcomings in the organization of production and labor are maintained or, for example, social factors are not activated—which is what happens in practice—then there will be no increase in efficiency by utilizing the technical innovation.

In order to eliminate these mistakes fundamentally new methods need to be applied and management decisions made. I refer to a modern "Data Analysis" methodology that has received broad international recognition. It involves the systematic continuous tracking (monitoring) of diverse factors, compulsory feedback between the object of management and the results of research, and the latter's adjustment in accordance with life's demands.

Unfortunately, the above-mentioned mistakes are present in virtually all publications, whose authors ardently and convincingly defend socialist market positions. They do not contain a single word about those problems encountered by enterprises in the existing conditions of "information shortage" and archaic management and planning methods. At the present stage of productive forces' development the market, with its essential attributes of competition and marketing (the study of demand for output), is not at all like that which existed last century or even in the middle of the present one, nor, of course, the hugely expanded Tishinskiy market [allusion unknown]. A high standard of management, scientific methods of forecasting, and computer technology are essential here.

This is not the first time that we are posing the question of gross planning errors. The "alarm" was given in 1973 by a publication in PRAVDA. In recent years we have repeatedly appeared in the central press and on radio and television, we have sent a scientific report to the USSR Council of Ministers, and we have written diverse notes to the "authorities." We got positive responses to our proposals from the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute and the scientific section of the commission for improving management, planning, and the economic mechanism, signed by Academicians L.I. Abalkin and A.G. Aganbegyan. Even the strict and, as they are often represented, conservative officials at the USSR Ministry of Finance admitted that a method must be used in formulating the normatives of payments into the budget. But the matter went no further than that.

We believe that a major problem such as the creation of a new methodology cannot be resolved without the participation of the central economic departments. In the United States, for example, this work has been financed from the federal budget. Recent discussions at the USSR Gosplan showed that its officials believe that it is essential to apply the new methodology widely. But now specific actions are needed—not just words.

M. Lemeshev, doctor of economic sciences

V. Balan, candidate of economic sciences

RSFSR Exports Depressed by Slipshod Work

PM2212130188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS observer V. Petrunya article "Slipshod Work for Export. Why Contract Discipline in Respect of Export Deliveries Is Low"]

[Text] It is embarrassing to admit this, but along with our traditional exports, we have learned to also export such features of our economic practice as slipshod work and violations of contract commitments.

Goods to the value of R1.5 billion were supplied for exports by enterprises of RSFSR ministries and departments over the first 9 months of the current year. This represents 8 percent of the total volume of exports from the territory of the republic. What is the correlation between these volumes and the reserves? The answer to this question is provided by the export quota—that is, the share of exports in the total volume of industrial output from enterprises under republic jurisdiction. This quota totals 1.5 percent. Not very impressive, as you can see.

In these circumstances, it would seem, it is necessary to clutch at every straw, to try to earn foreign currency with commitment and responsibility. Alas, there are the traditional hitches. Republic ministries and departments fulfilled their export delivery contract commitments during the January-September period only 93.6 percent (this refers to goods listed in the RSFSR Gosplan schedule). Despite their promises which have the force of law they failed to deliver goods worth almost R3.5 million to their foreign partners. This may not be an astronomical sum, but it reflects the "reliability" of the Soviet partner with more than astronomical clarity.

It must be noted, however, that by no means all the republic's departments have dented their reputation. On the contrary, the majority fulfilled their contract commitments 100 percent as is fitting.

Unfortunately, the minority just happens to be the biggest and least responsible supplier of goods abroad. The Local Industry Ministry failed to fulfill its commitments by only 0.4 percent, but this fraction turned out to be quite weighty—R62,000. The republic Gosagroprom fared worst, failing to deliver R3 million worth of goods. What is the reason for the magnitude of its failure, which amounts to a 26-percent underfulfillment of contract commitments? The task was to deliver 4,500 horses for meat to Italy. However, this whole enormous "herd" was flawed: It was discovered that the horses were afflicted with various kinds of diseases. We see a familiar picture: They took a chance, and they did not get away with it....

In an analytical report of the RSFSR State Committee for Statistics, which tried to clarify what view our foreign clients take of us, an attempt was made to get to the bottom of the question: What is the reason for our failures? The Local Industry Ministry reply to this question was in the best traditions of the period of stagnation: Suppliers were not provided with order schedules. Foreign clients, please take note! What a serious "objective" reason!

Or take the Ministry of the Fuel Industry. It is also completely innocent. It failed to deliver R20,000 worth of goods for exports because it lacked the materials needed for their production. You simply have to understand....

The RSFSR is a vast territory, it adjoins many countries along tens of thousands of kilometers of the USSR's state border. Beyond that border are our neighbors with whom God himself commanded us to trade, to make the most of special coastal and cross-border trade. This is a convenient, excellent mode of trade which supplies us mostly with hard currency. Enterprises and organizations of oblispolkoms, krayispolkoms, and autonomous republic councils of ministers sold their partners in Finland, Sweden, Norway, Japan, China, and Singapore directly more than R90 million worth of goods during the 9-month period.

But here too we were true to type. Contract commitments were fulfilled 93.7 percent. People in Pskov, Chita, Yaroslavl, and others places let us down. Are you saying they promised to do something and then did not do it? Nothing of the kind. On the contrary. Many did precisely what they had promised and on time, but clients failed to receive the fruits of their work. This is also a familiar phenomenon in our country. Some 45,000 cubic meters of commercial timber procured in Irkutsk, Vologda, and Kamchatka Oblasts and the Yakut and Buryat ASSRs were not "converted" into R1.7 million worth of foreign currency because it proved impossible to deliver them abroad in time—due to a shortage of freight cars.

The troubles and the handwriting are familiar. But they mean new stains on the honor of our "trade uniform." New losses of something that we badly need, losses that will be difficult to make up.

New Chairman of Cooperation Bank Interviewed

PM2212122588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Our correspondent V. Zaykin interview with V.S. Khokhlov, chairman of the International Economic Cooperation Bank and former deputy chairman of the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity, under the rubric "Names And Events": "Sincerity Is a Beneficial Thing"; date, place not given; first three paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] A new chairman of the International Economic Cooperation Bank Board was appointed at its 69th council session. He is Vitaliy Sergeyevich Khokhlov, who previously held the post of deputy chairman of the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity.

He was born in 1938. He graduated from Moscow's G.V. Plekhanov Economics Institute and the All-Union Academy of Foreign Trade. He has worked in the banking system since 1964. First he worked at the USSR Foreign Trade Bank. Then he worked in Soviet banks abroad: in Paris and Luxembourg. He worked at the CPSU Central Committee Economic Department. Then he was deputy chairman of the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity Board.

Our correspondent met with V. Khokhlov when the new chairman of the International Economic Cooperation Bank had finished his third day's work.

[Zaykin] Vitaliy Sergeyevich, your service record is such that this new appointment probably came as no surprise to you.

[Khokhlov] On the contrary. The proposal was unexpected. I felt quite happy at the Bank for Foreign Economic Activity. I very much liked working there. I had good relations with the collective and with my

colleagues from socialist countries. In human terms I was kind of sad to leave. But at the same time I wanted to try my hand at a more responsible post.

[Zaykin] Of what does the activity of the International Economic Cooperation Bank consist?

[Khokhlov] The International Economic Cooperation Bank has existed for 25 years now. Its activity is geared above all to developing economic relations between CEMA countries. The bank operates in transfer rubles and freely convertible hard currency and will soon operate in the national currencies of the interested countries of the socialist community. It is a question of accounts for foreign trade and for exchange of services between CEMA countries. The bank's activity must accord with the interests of all its members. Our incorporation capital is more than 300 million transfer rubles. Of this 38 percent is on account of the USSR.

[Zaykin] Is there friction between bank members?

[Khokhlov] We have the principle of unanimity for adopting decisions. Of course, it is sometimes difficult to find mutually beneficial decisions because the bank's member countries are at different levels of economic development. Decisions adopted do not always accord with the bank's profitability. But we cannot fail to think of our partners' interests. Our interest policy is also geared toward this.

[Zaykin] What are the bank's prospects

[Khokhlov] I think that this year and next year will be extremely successful for us. We are expecting a considerable profit both in transfer rubles and in freely convertible currency. We are receiving interesting proposals from reputable Western banks in connection with the restructuring of our country's economy. We are studying them.

[Zaykin] How do you regard the criticism of the transfer ruble?

[Khokhlov] It is, of course, reasonable. Nonetheless at present the transfer ruble is still our main accounting unit. All the same in principle it is fulfilling its functions. The predominant number of accounts are still in transfer rubles. A well-tuned mechanism is already operating. None of the bank's member countries deny the important role of the transfer ruble. I think that if there is talk today of making the ruble a freely convertible currency, this should probably happen first within the CEMA framework.

[Zaykin] What is Soviet bankers' work like today?

[Khokhlov] Much easier than it was before. We are liberating ourselves and becoming freer. We were increasingly striking poses before. We tried to show that we were better than everyone and we tried to hide our shortcomings. All this by no means helped matters. Mistrust of us increased. We are not afraid to voice our opinions now and we talk sincerely about our problems. This reassures our partners. "We see that you realize your problems," they say. "That means that you will be able to work on solving them." The world values sincerity highly.

Military

Shcherbitskiy Attends Kiev MD Conference

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[Correspondent Colonel A. Polyakov report under the general heading: "Party Conferences"]

[Text] The Kiev Military District party conference has taken place. The reports given by Lieutenant General V. Sharygin, member of the Military Council and chief of the district Political Directorate, and Colonel V. Ilnitskiy, secretary of the district Political Directorate party committee, and speeches by Colonel General V. Osipov, commander of the district, and also Comrades A. Vasilkov, V. Demchenko, V. Kozachko, S. Ichenskiy, and M. Semikin stressed that an atmosphere of political and businesslike activeness, glasnost, and democratization is being affirmed among the troops and that there have been marked changes in improving the leadership of political organs, party organizations, and bureaus.

At the same time the delegates noted that a radical change has still not been achieved in the work style of certain political organs, which sometimes lack the ability to single out the main point and elaborate new approaches with regard to exerting political influence on troops' qualitative training and are proving slow to escape from the administrative-edict style of work. The personal exemple set by communists is poor, and 30 percent of them this year have been content with satisfactory results.

V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, delivered a speech at the conferenece.

V. Shevchenko, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Army General I. Gerasimov; I. Larik, first deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee department; and V. Tsybukh, first secretary of the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee, took part in the work of the conference.

Solovyev, Ivanovskiy at Leningrad Conference

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[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Colonel V. Streltsov report under the general heading: "Party Conferences"]

[Text] Questions of how political organs and party organizations and Communists are resolving their respective tasks of leading restructuring and being its

vanguard and the question of what is impeding the implementation of restructuring were among the questions at the center of attention for delegates to the Leningrad Military District party conference.

Lieutenant General Yu. Pavlov, chief of the district's political directorate, delivered a report "On the Work of the District's Political Directorate, Political Organs, and Party Organizations To Step Up Party Influence on the Qualitative Parameters of Troop Training and Fundamentally Reinforce Troop Discipline."

Communists' speeches analyzed the practice of party-political work and proposed new approaches to resolving topical problems of troop collectives' life and service. Overall the conference, as it were, accumulated the critical remarks and proposals on how to qualitatively improve restructuring in troop collectives that were voiced in the course of the report and election campaign. There were more than 1,700 of these proposals. This was a great reserve for improving ideological and organizational work.

Yu.S. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Leningrad CPSU Obkom, and Army General Ye. Ivanovskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee, commander in chief of Ground Forces, and USSR deputy defense minister, took part in the work of the conference.

Automobile Crash Kills Major General Milko

PM2212152588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Dec 88 First Edition p 4

[Obituary of Major General A.Ya. Milko]

[Text] Major General Anatoliy Yakovlevich Milko has died a tragic death in an automobile crash while performing his official duties.

A.Ya. Milko was born in 1941 in a peasants' family in Malyye Sulimy Village of Poltava Oblast's Zenkovskiy Rayon. He began his service in the Soviet Army in 1961. He advanced from soldier to military school student and commander of a platoon, company, and battalion. He became a member of the CPSU in 1965. After graduating from the Military Academy of Rear Services and Transportation, he served at various command and engineering posts. He played an active part in the construction of the Baykal-Amur Main Railroad.

Throughout his service he enjoyed the reputation of a well trained, demanding, and solicitous commander, skilled engineer, and skillful organizer of transportation building. He was decorated with the Order of the October Revolution, the Order of the Red Star, the Order "For Service to the Motherland in the USSR Armed Forces" 3d class, and many medals.

The memory of Anatoliy Yakovlevich Milko will always remain alive in our hearts.

[Signed] V.A. Brezhnev, V.M. Arkhipov, I.M. Golushko, M.K. Makartsev, A.F. Stolyarov, N.A. Khomyakov, A.A. Vinogradov, V.A. Vasilyev, Ye.K. Belov, A.M. Zimin, V.P. Khimchenko, V.V. Lapshin, V.V. Kakovkin, V.M. Dudkin, G.I. Kogatko, V.I. Olkhovskiy, V.N. Mirenkov, I.I. Rusak